NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

HISTORY

GUY FAWKES
THE PLOT TO KILL THE KING

MEGALITHS
EUROPE'S FIRST ROCK STARS

GETTING RICH IN ROME
THE PATH TO WEALTH AND POWER

MATA HARI
SECRETS, LIES, AND GERMAN SPIES

PLUS:

Some Assembly Required
The Discovery of the Ishtar Gate

STREAM
CLASSIC HISTORY

The largest offering of commercial-free series, documentaries, and specials. Brought to you by HISTORY channel.

ONE MONTH
~~7-DAY~~
FREE TRIAL

Go to:
HistoryVault.com/Offer

HISTORY vault

The notorious Guy Fawkes was a member of the plot to blow up England's Parliament and kill King James I in November 1605. The plan was thwarted when the king's men discovered Fawkes in the cellars carrying a lantern (above) and guarding barrels of gunpowder. Since then, on November 5 Britain celebrates his defeat, often by burning Fawkes in effigy, a ritual that mocks him and warns potential rebels against the crown.

The traditional celebration endures, but the symbol of Fawkes has been reinvented. Masks bearing his visage, designed by artist David Lloyd for the graphic novel *V for Vendetta* and subsequent 2005 movie, gained popularity in the mid-2000s when members of several protest movements began donning them for public events. These distinctive masks are worn at protests the world over, spreading far beyond Britain. Wearing a Fawkes face doesn't ridicule rebellion now—it honors it.

This metamorphosis reveals how complicated the lives of symbols are, for new meanings develop when new people adopt them. It also reveals how necessary and enlightening it is to revisit the history of Fawkes to gain insight into how people "remember, remember" this 17th-century figure.

Amy Briggs

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

MASK: NEYDTSTOCK/DREAMSTIME.
ENGRAVING: WALKER ART/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Statement of Ownership, Management, and Monthly Circulation of NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC HISTORY

Owner and Publisher: National Geographic Partners, LLC
Declan Moore, CEO
Amy Briggs, Editor in Chief
Headquarters of Publisher and Publication:
1145 Seventeenth Street N.W., Washington, DC 20036
Stockholders; Bondholders; Mortgage; Other Security holders: National Geographic Society and 21st Century Fox

	AVERAGE NO. COPIES EACH ISSUE DURING PRECEDING 12 MOS.	SINGLE ISSUE NEAREST TO FILING DATE
	Nov 2016-Oct 2017	Sept-Oct 2017
A. TOTAL COPIES PRINTED (Net Press Run)	383,904	393,687
B. PAID CIRCULATION		
1. Outside-County Mail Subscriptions	158,461	176,375
2. In-County Mail Subscriptions	–	–
3. Single Copy Sales/ Non USPS Paid Distribution	74,207	73,742
4. Other Classes Mailed Through USPS	–	–
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION	232,668	250,117
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION (includes samples, no news agents)		
1. Outside-County	2,536	2,150
2. In-County	–	–
3. Other Classes Mailed Through USPS	–	–
4. Free Distribution Outside the Mail	–	–
E. TOTAL FREE DISTRIBUTION	2,536	2,150
F. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C and E)	235,204	252,267
G. OFFICE USE, LEFTOVER, ETC.	148,700	141,420
H. TOTAL (Sum of F & G)	383,904	393,687
I. PERCENT PAID	99%	99%

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

HISTORY

EXECUTIVE EDITOR AMY E. BRIGGS

Deputy Editor VICTOR LLORET BLACKBURN
Text Editor JULIUS PURCELL
Editorial Consultants JOSEP MARIA CASALS (Managing Editor, *Historia* magazine), IÑAKI DE LA FUENTE (Art Director, *Historia* magazine)
Design Editor FRANCISCO ORDUÑA
Photography Editor MERITXELL CASANOVAS

Contributors
IRENE BERMAN-VAPORIS, MARC BRIAN DUCKETT, SARAH PRESANT-COLLINS, THEODORE A. SICKLEY, JANE SUNDERLAND

VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER JOHN MACKETHAN

Publishing Directors
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS YULIA P. BOYLE
DEPUTY MANAGING EDITOR, *NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC* MAGAZINE AMY KOLCZAK
PUBLISHER, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC BOOKS LISA THOMAS

Advertising ROBERT AMBERG

Consumer Marketing and Planning ANNE BARKER, RICHARD BROWN, PAULA COMMODORE, SUSAN DIDONATO, JUSTIN DROMS, SUZANNE MACKAY, MATT MOORE, CHRISTINA NAGEY, TRAVIS PRICE, ROCCO RUGGIERI, JOHN SEELEY, MARK VIOLA

Production Services JOHN CHOW, JULIE IBINSON, DARRICK MCRAE, KRISTIN SEMENIUK, GREGORY STORER

Customer Service SCOTT ARONSON, TRACY PELT

FOR SUBSCRIPTION QUESTIONS, VISIT **www.nghservice.com** OR CALL 1-800-647-5463.
TO SUBSCRIBE ONLINE, VISIT **www.nationalgeographic.com.**
FOR CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS, VISIT **natgeo.com/corrections.**
WHILE WE DO NOT ACCEPT UNSOLICITED MATERIALS, WE WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS AT **history@natgeo.com.**

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS DECLAN MOORE
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS SUSAN GOLDBERG
CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS MARCELA MARTIN
CHIEF MARKETING OFFICER, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS JILL CRESS
EVP, BUSINESS AND LEGAL AFFAIRS, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS JEFF SCHNEIDER

COPYRIGHT © 2017 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS, LLC. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. *NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC* AND YELLOW BORDER DESIGN ARE TRADEMARKS OF THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY, USED UNDER LICENSE. PRINTED IN U.S.A.

RBA

PRESIDENT RICARDO RODRIGO
CEO ENRIQUE IGLESIAS
MANAGING DIRECTORS ANA RODRIGO, MARI CARMEN CORONAS
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR AUREA DÍAZ
INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE EDITOR SOLEDAD LORENZO
EDITORIAL COORDINATOR MONICA ARTIGAS
MARKETING DIRECTOR BERTA CASTELLET
CREATIVE DIRECTOR JORDINA SALVANY
GENERAL DIRECTOR OF PLANNING AND CONTROL IGNACIO LÓPEZ

National Geographic History (ISSN 2380-3878) is published bimonthly in January/February, March/April, May/June, July/August, September/October, and November/December by National Geographic Partners, LLC, 1145 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Volume 3, Number 5. $29 per year for U.S. delivery. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, DC, and additional mailing offices. **SUBSCRIBER:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. **POSTMASTER:** Send address changes to *National Geographic History*, P.O. Box 62138, Tampa, FL 33662. In Canada, agreement number 40063649, return undeliverable Canadian addresses to *National Geographic History*, P.O. Box 4412 STA A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3W2. We occasionally make our subscriber names available to companies whose products or services might be of interest to you. If you prefer not to be included, you may request that your name be removed from promotion lists by calling 1-800-647-5463. To opt out of future direct mail from other organizations, visit DMAchoice.org, or mail a request to: DMA Choice, c/o Data & Marketing Association, P.O. Box 643, Carmel, NY 10512.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

HISTORY

VOL. 3 NO. 5

ROCK OF AGES
Richly decorated megaliths line the passageway of the Gavrinis tomb, built around 3500 B.C. in Brittany, northern France.

Features

16 Megalithic Masterpieces
Six thousand years ago, gigantic stone tombs and massive rock temples began to rise across Europe as farming spread across the continent.

30 The Wondrous Temple of Ephesus
Sacred to Artemis and an original wonder of the world, this temple's grandeur awed everyone who saw it.

40 Striking It Rich in Rome
Making money in Rome was possible for statesmen and soldiers, but the growth of the super-rich brought political instability in the first century B.C.

52 Queen Zenobia Seizes an Empire
Bold and brazen, Zenobia aimed to make her wealthy desert kingdom of Palmyra a rival to third-century Rome. She nearly succeeded.

64 The Explosive Guy Fawkes
In November 1605 Guy Fawkes's plot to kill James I failed, but his legacy of rebellion endures today.

76 Mata Hari's Deadly Flirtation
The notorious dancer's love affairs drew her into World War I espionage, leading to her execution a century ago.

SPY OR VICTIM? MATA HARI IN PROFILE, 1910
AKG/ALBUM

Departments

4 NEWS

6 PROFILES

Gilles de Rais, an ally of Joan of Arc, went from heroic to horrific after being convicted of murdering hundreds of children in 15th-century France.

10 SNAPSHOTS

The waltz put 1700s Vienna into a spin. Sidestepping initial disapproval, the three-quarter-time dance conquered ballrooms everywhere.

12 WORK OF ART

As Queen Victoria's empire grew, the size of her crown shrank. Her miniature diamond masterpiece is a famous symbol of her long reign, marked by rapid social and scientific change.

90 DISCOVERIES

German scholars unearthed Babylon's blue-tiled Ishtar Gate in 1902. Piecing together its shattered splendor, they were able to re-create Nebuchadrezzar's great monument.

LAP OF LUXURY *Felis catus* has come a long way since mousing for Neolithic farmers.

MAYTE TORRES/GETTY IMAGES

OF MICE AND MEN

Finicky Felines Take Their Time with Domestication

A new study of cat DNA reveals that the purr-fect partnership between people and pussycats has been millennia in the making.

Archaeologists have long understood that feline-human relations go back a long way, to roughly eight to ten thousand years ago, when agriculture first appeared in the Fertile Crescent. But the full domestication of cats took a lot longer—because the cats wanted it that way.

Mighty Mousers

A joint study by Belgium's University of Leuven and the Royal Belgian Institute of Natural Sciences used DNA to examine cat domestication. Cats first began hanging around farms to eat mice and other vermin drawn to granaries. Humans let the cats stay and a partnership was formed: Farmers kept their harvests, and cats kept their bellies full.

But the process toward full domestication was slow. "It's not that humans took some cats and put them inside cages," the study's lead author, Claudio Ottoni, said. Instead, he explained, cats domesticated themselves

HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

CLASSICAL CATS

THE ANCIENT WORLD'S love affair with cats stretched across the Mediterranean. The 14th-century B.C. Egyptian prince Thutmose, son of Amenhotep III, had a sarcophagus made for his companion, a cat named Ta-miu, which means "little mewer" (right). Egyptians brought their cats with them along their extensive trade routes, allowing the cat population and feline fascination to spread. In ancient Crete the hunting prowess of cats was celebrated in murals such as the one pictured below, in which a blue cat lunges at a duck. Although the Greeks and Romans did not worship the cat with the same reverence as the Egyptians, they did value the role cats played as pets and their prowess as hunters, as evidenced by the presence of an athletic cat poised to strike in a mosaic from the House of the Faun (left) in Pompeii.

ARCHIVIO/ALBUM

◀ CAT ON A SECOND-CENTURY B.C. MOSAIC, HOUSE OF THE FAUN, POMPEII

▶ TA-MIU'S SARCOPHAGUS, 14TH CENTURY B.C. EGYPT MUSEUM, CAIRO

▼ CRETAN FRESCO, 16TH CENTURY B.C. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ATHENS

ALAMY/ACI

because humans did not need to select for any traits. In other words, as co-author Eva-Maria Geigl said, "[Cats] were perfect as they were."

Feline Forebears

The team used DNA samples to trace feline ancestry. They used fur, teeth, bones, and skin from the remains of over 200 cats from the past 9,000 years, including specimens from Romania and mummified cats from ancient Egypt.

Analysis revealed that domestic cats are descended from two lineages of *Felis silvestris lybica,* a subspecies of wildcat. The Asian population became the first Fertile Crescent mousers. Researchers believe this group traveled with humans, most likely by ship from southwest Asia into Europe as early as 4400 B.C.

The second feline lineage traces back to a population in ancient Egypt, a civilization that worshipped cats. Scientists speculate that this cat clan had a more social temperament. These kitties moved into Europe around 1500 B.C. When the two lineages met, they began to mix.

The Belgian joint study also found another curious discovery: Ancient cats had stripes but no spots, a fact confirmed by Egyptian murals which only show striped cats. The study found that the gene causing a blotched or spotted coat only started to appear throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, a potential sign that humans were beginning to breed cats to select for different traits.

From then on, spotted or striped, cats have extended their mastery over the human race: The domestic cat now lives on all the world's continents (except Antarctica). In the United States alone, 94.2 million kitties are kept as companions, continuing their march toward world domination. ■

◀ **A MUMMIFIED CAT** WITH A PAINTED MASK OVER THE FACE, SEVENTH TO FOURTH CENTURIES B.C. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS

JOSSE/SCALA, FLORENCE

Gilles de Rais: Making a Murderer

In 1440 the French war hero and compatriot of Joan of Arc was accused of horrific crimes, including killing more than 150 young boys. Was he a serial killer or the victim of a conspiracy?

From Adored to Abhorred

1404

Gilles de Rais is born in Champtocé Castle. Following his parents' deaths, Gilles is brought up by his severe maternal grandfather.

1429

Charles VII of France calls on Rais to fight the English besieging Orleans. Together with Joan of Arc, he liberates the city.

1431

According to some sources, Rais tries to rescue Joan of Arc from captivity. The attempt fails, and she is executed.

1434

Rais returns to his Breton castles. Rumors abound that he takes part in satanic rituals.

1440

Rais is arrested and tried. After confessing to his crimes, he is executed in Nantes.

Death was a way of life for Gilles Montmorency-Laval, Baron de Rais, who rose as one of France's war heroes only to become one of its most notorious villains. Long believed to be a sadistic child murderer, historians are revisiting his story to seek what truth lies beneath the tales of his monstrous cruelty in 15th-century France.

Troubled Past

Gilles de Rais was born in September 1404 in Champtocé Castle in Brittany, the scion of a powerful landowning family. He grew up in a France depleted by the Hundred Years' War with England—a conflict that would profoundly shape his violent life.

A series of traumas marked the nobleman's childhood. At age 11, Rais witnessed his father's death from disembowelment by a boar while hunting in the woods. His mother died the same year, leaving the youth an orphan. He was taken into the care of his maternal grandfather, Jean de Craon, who had a reputation for ruthlessness and depravity. Historians speculate that it was Craon's corrupting influence that planted the seeds of darkness in Gilles's personality.

At age 14 Rais went into the service of Duke Jean V of Brittany as a knight. There, he took part in conflicts between noblemen from the region's great houses, who regarded war as an essential part of their way of life, a kind of aristocratic sport. Sources say that Rais was just 15 years old when he killed for the first time during a fencing match.

His grandfather attempted several times to arrange marriages for Rais to very young girls. Finally, at age 16, he married Catherine de Thouars, a wealthy heiress. The pair had a daughter, Marie, who was born in 1429. History says little about the marriage, and Catherine's money seems to have been the main attraction for the union.

Battlefield Glory

At this stage in his life, Rais's penchant for violence was channeled into warfare, at which he excelled. As a knight, Rais stood out for his energy and ferocity in battle as he fought for France in the battles of the Hundred Years' War. His fellow soldiers compared his vigor to the relentless drive of the Vikings from earlier times.

Sources say Gilles de Rais mounted a rescue party to free Joan of Arc from English captivity.

15TH-CENTURY MINIATURE OF JOAN OF ARC. NATIONAL ARCHIVES, PARIS
DRONOZ/ALBUM

AKG/ALBUM

PORTRAIT OF A KILLER

FASCINATION with Gilles de Rais's crimes led Georges Bataille, a 20th-century French academic, to dedicate an entire book to the French nobleman's state of mind. In his 1965 work, *The Trial of Gilles de Rais*, Bataille offers the following insights:

"He has no ability at all to defend himself. He moves around violently from one impulse to another, and this only destroys him. I insist: This is a child. But this is a child with a fortune at his disposal, and nearly absolute power. Childishness, under normal circumstances, has limited possibilities; but by reason of his wealth and power, Gilles de Rais's childishness caused tragic outcomes."

GILLES DE RAIS, IN AN IDEALIZED 1834 PORTRAIT. TRIANON PALACE, VERSAILLES

In 1429 he attracted the notice of the king of France, Charles VII, who requested his aid in liberating the city of Orleans, which had been besieged by the English for several months. When he reached the front with a band of soldiers, Rais met Joan of Arc, the visionary young woman who claimed God had chosen her to liberate France from England. Fighting side by side, they raised the siege in days, both entering the city on April 29 to the cheers of its citizens.

Later that summer, both Rais and Joan took key ceremonial roles in the crowning of Charles at the cathedral at Reims, which had also been liberated from the English. From here, Rais's life could have settled into a pattern of courage, honor, and recognition: He was appointed marshal of France, accompanied Joan in the following months, and even saved her life during a skirmish at the gates of Paris. Chronicles from that time report he mounted a rescue attempt to free her when she was captured and condemned to death by the English; he arrived too late to save her, and she was burned at the stake in 1431.

A Dark Turn

After Joan's death, Rais continued to serve in the military until age 30. His grandfather died in 1432, and he inherited the title Baron de Rais. In 1434 Rais's protector and ally at the French court, Georges de La Trémoille, was disgraced. Stripped of the title of marshal—but with considerable funds, thanks to the large quantity of war booty he had acquired, as well as the inheritance of his family's estates—Rais withdrew to his lands in Brittany. A new, much darker chapter in his life had begun.

POUZAUGES CASTLE in northwestern France came into the possession of Gilles de Rais when he married Catherine de Thouars. The union was unhappy, but lucrative for Rais, boosting his already considerable property portfolio.

ROMAIN CINTRACT/AGE FOTOSTOCK

At first, his life seemed marked more by luxury and excessive spending rather than anything sinister. Of the many lavish parties he threw, a spectacle in 1435 seems to have caused consternation among his family: The liberation of Orléans was reenacted at the exorbitant cost of 80,000 crowns. To his family's horror, he continued selling off his estates to fund his eccentric projects.

At some stage, finding himself in ever mounting debt, he is said to have turned to the occult to generate more money. Figures identified as sorcerers, necromancers, wizards, devil worshippers, and alchemists were reported to gather at his castle, shutting themselves away in an effort to discover the philosopher's stone and make gold. He performed rites to raise the devil, it was said, and held satanic ceremonies, signing pacts in his own blood.

Death in Disgrace

As time went on, Rais sold more and more of his property. Disturbing rumors began to circulate about the baron. The hero and war veteran was now suspected of perpetrating the darkest crimes imaginable. On September 15, 1440, when a detachment of soldiers sent by the Bishop of Nantes arrived at Machecoul Castle, Gilles handed himself over with no resistance. Details of his "secret life" soon seeped out, and he found himself accused of witchcraft, heresy, offending the divine majesty, sodomy—and child murder.

THE REAL BLUEBEARD?

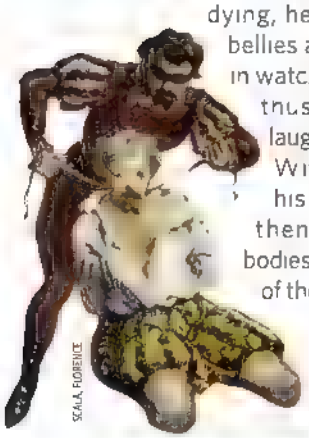
GILLES DE RAIS is said to be the inspiration for Bluebeard. The creation of the 17th-century French storyteller Charles Perrault, Bluebeard murders his wives and hides their bodies in the cellar. Rais's crimes do not resemble Bluebeard's, leading some to believe that an early Breton noble (and wife killer), Comorre the Cursed, is the more likely inspiration.

BLUEBEARD IN AN 1867 ILLUSTRATION OF PERRAULT'S TALE

GRANGER/ALBUM

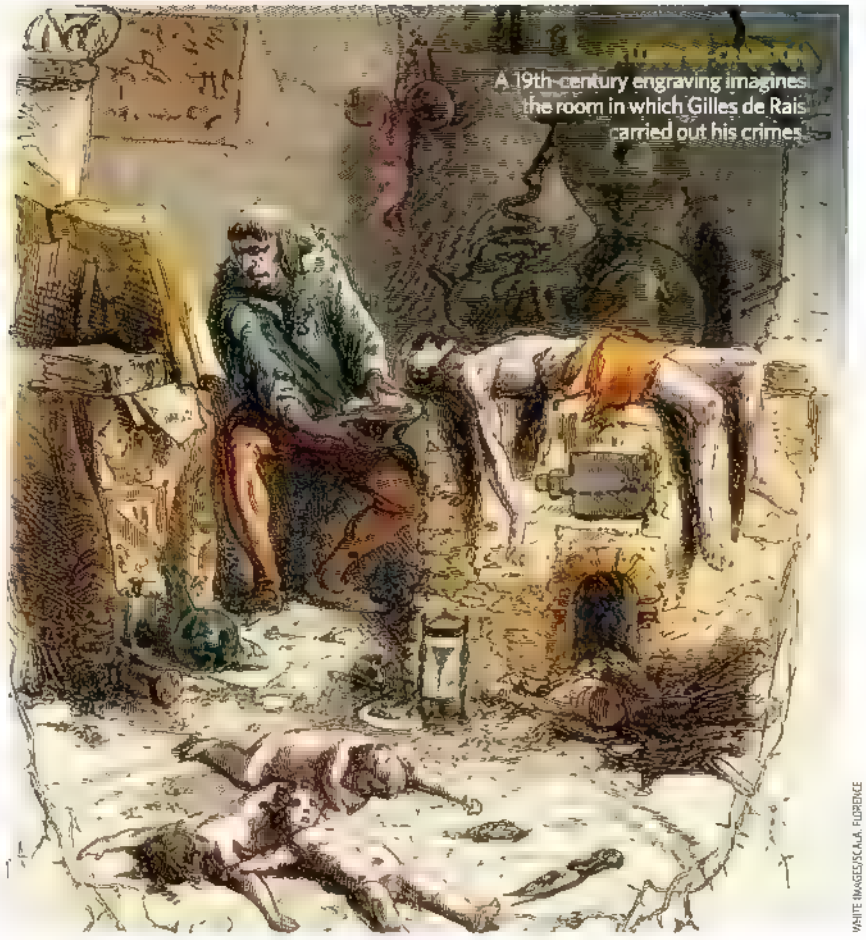
A FULL CONFESSION

AT THE TRIAL, witnesses gave gruesome accounts of how Rais killed his victims: "When the said children were dead, he kissed them and those who had the most handsome limbs and heads he held up to admire, and had their bodies cruelly cut open and took delight at the sight of their inner organs; and very often when the said children were dying, he sat on their bellies and delighted in watching them die thus, and . . . he laughed at them." Witnesses said his accomplices then burned the bodies and disposed of the ashes



SCALA, FLORENCE

THE EXECUTION OF GILLES DE RAIS 19TH-CENTURY PRINT



A 19th-century engraving imagines the room in which Gilles de Rais carried out his crimes.

WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

Over the six-to-seven-year period between his return to his estates in 1434 and his arrest, large numbers of young boys, and occasionally girls, apparently went missing. Peasants from Baron de Rais's domains were called as witnesses and told how children disappeared from one day to the next while out watching the cattle, working as apprentices, or looking after a younger sibling at home. Many had suspected Baron de Rais but did not dare accuse him because they were afraid of his power and influence.

Trial testimony said that Rais employed henchmen to kidnap children he would regard as beautiful. Rais is said to have subjected the boys to a kind of strangulation to stop them from screaming; then he released them so he could rape them. One of Rais's servants even stated that the baron experienced "greater pleasure from murdering the boys, watching their heads separate from their bodies and their blood flow, than from carnal knowledge of them." Either he or his servants then killed them, burned the bodies, and threw the ashes in the castle's cesspits.

At first Rais denied the charges levied against him, but he later confessed under the threat of torture and excommunication. After confessing, Rais said that he had acted that way because it was the will of God. Sources differ on the exact number of his victims: Some place the figure at 150, while others place it as high as 600. Sentenced to death, Rais was hanged on October 26, 1440—although some sources say he was manually strangled—and his body partially burned. His remains were buried in a tomb in the Carmelite church in the city of Nantes.

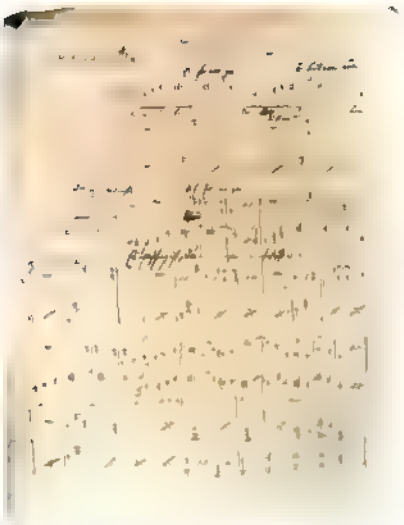
Today, some historians are skeptical of his guilt. Evidence of missing children or dead bodies was not presented at the trial, despite claims that more than 100 disappeared. Rais could have been victim of a political persecution, similar to Joan of Arc. Indeed, Rais's closeness to Joan may have made him an easy target for his enemies. Skeptics also point out that the threat of torture would render Rais's confession meaningless.

Questions continue to linger over the baron's life and trial. Whether he was a mass murderer or the victim of a frame-up may never be resolved completely. Perhaps the answer lies somewhere in between, and Rais committed some of the crimes for which he was accused. Wherever the truth may lie, a man formerly lionized as a hero and champion of the Maid of Orléans, passed into popular history as a terrifying monster.

—José Luis Corral

The Waltz: Vienna's Forbidden Dance

Like the lambada in the 1990s, the waltz was the scandalous dance craze of the late 1700s. Polite society could tut-tut all it liked, but the dance would rule Europe until the days of World War I.



BRIDGEMAN/ALI

"THE BLUE DANUBE" ORIGINAL SCORE, WRITTEN IN 1867 BY JOHANN STRAUSS THE YOUNGER. MUSEUM OF VIENNA

Dancers swirling in a waltz evoke visions of Vienna during the Habsburg Empire. When the dance first whirled through the ballrooms of the Austrian capital, however, it caused a shocking sensation. Its rise marked a decisive shift in European social customs, and what today is regarded as a tame dance was, at the time, considered risqué—even immoral.

Despite its elegant associations today, the waltz's origins are probably humble. Its name comes from *walzen*—"turn" in German—and may have developed out of the folk music of Austria's western Tyrol region (although some authors associate its choreography with the *volta*, a 16th-century couples dance). Whatever its origins, by the late 1700s the waltz had conquered the whole of Europe. The dance craze was particularly popular among young people from the wealthy middle classes, the perfect expression of a new, confident bourgeoisie, who were discarding aristocratic customs.

The waltz was a far cry from the precise choreography of a dance like the minuet, which generally kept dancers at arms' length. The waltz allowed partners to get close and place their arms around one another as they spun around the floor. A scene from the 1774 novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, by J. W. von Goethe, describes a ball that begins with stuffy minuets until a new tune is struck: "When the waltz commenced, and the dancers whirled around each other in the giddy maze . . . Never did I dance more lightly. I felt myself more than mortal, holding this loveliest of creatures in my arms, flying, with her as rapidly as the wind, till I lost sight of every other object."

The new dance outraged conservative critics, who considered it to be too tactile. Until then, formal dancers might, at the very most, hold hands while performing complex choreography. In 1818 Madame de Genlis, a governess of the briefly restored French royal family, said that the waltz would corrupt any honest young woman who performed it: "A young woman, lightly dressed, throws herself into the arms of a young man," she wrote. "He presses her to his chest and conquers her with such impetuosity that she soon feels her heart beat violently as her head giddily swims! That is what they call waltzing!" In 1833 a British manual of good manners recommended only married women should dance it, as it was too immoral for the unwed.

WALTZERS AT THE OPEN-AIR PARISIAN DANCE VENUE BAL MABILLE IN A MID-20TH-CENTURY PAINTING BY CHARLES VERNIER. CARNAVALET MUSEUM, PARIS

BRIDGEMAN

Strictly Ballroom

None of this outcry prevented the waltz from spreading. Its popularity led to the creation of a new kind of establishment the public dance hall. In 1760 a Venetian opera singer, Teresa Cornelys, opened one of the first in Europe, Carlisle House in London, England. Run as an exclusive club, its guests could dine, play cards, listen to music, and, of course, dance.

BIRTH OF "THE BLUE DANUBE"

THE TITLE OF PERHAPS THE MOST famous waltz of all time, Johann Strauss's "Blue Danube," is believed to have been inspired by a poem by the Austro-Hungarian writer Karl Beck. It exalts the beauty not of Vienna, but of Beck's hometown in Hungary "on the bank of the beautiful blue Danube." At its first performance as a choral piece in the Austrian capital in 1867, the waltz received only one encore. But when Strauss presented a reworked orchestral version in Paris a few weeks later, it was a resounding triumph. "Strauss! The magic in that name! Courtiers and soldiers alike dance to the sound of his music; city and countryside spin together . . . His music penetrates the spirit and enlivens the feet," a French journalist wrote.

EMPEROR FRANZ JOSEF I WALTZING IN THE HOFBURG PALACE, VIENNA. DETAIL FROM A 1906 WATERCOLOR BY WILHELM GAUSE

DEA/BRIDGEMAN/ACI

Other European capitals soon followed suit. At the epicenter of the waltz, Vienna's Apollo Hall had five ballrooms in the early 1800s. Young people enthusiastically embraced the new fashion, fueling a craze that lasted for decades. In the spring of 1832, for example, it is estimated that half the city's population attended thousands of balls.

The rising popularity of the dance inspired many Austrian composers such as Johann Strauss the Elder (1804-1849), Joseph Lanner (1801-1843), and Johann Strauss the Younger (1825-1899). The works composed by the latter included the most iconic of the Viennese waltzes: "The Blue Danube," whose smooth strains, originally written for a men's chorus, were composed in 1867.

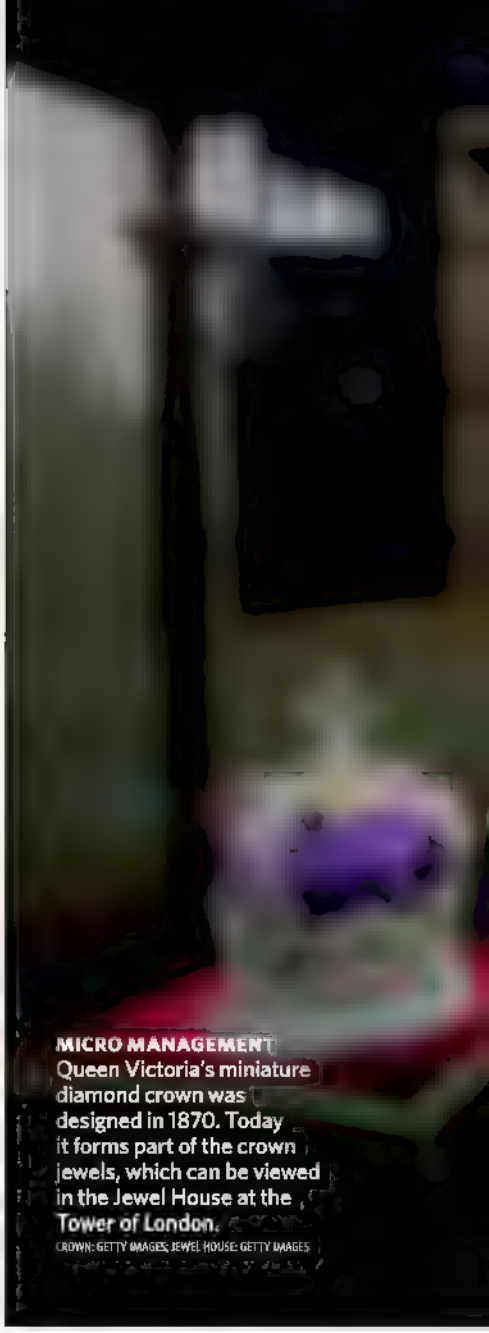
These composers transformed a simple country dance into works full of verve, in turn inspiring other composers, such as Frédéric Chopin. In Russia, Pyotr Tchaikovsky used the dance in some of his ballets, such as *Swan Lake*, *Sleeping Beauty*, and *The Nutcracker*. It also became popular in the United States, especially following the Civil War. American versions of the dance sprang up, such as the Boston Waltz, or Boston Dip.

The dance's Germanic associations would later lead to a decline in popularity during the First World War, but the waltz dominated the 1800s. Both in Europe and America, flushed dancers twirled their way into the 20th century to the joyful beat of three-quarter time.

—María Pilar Queralt del Hierro

Victoria's Crowning Glory

Standing just under five feet tall, Queen Victoria looms large in British history, ruling an empire spanning nearly a quarter of the globe and inhabited by 400 million people. Despite her giant impact on her subjects, Victoria's diminutive crown is perhaps the most recognizable symbol of her reign.



MICRO MANAGEMENT Queen Victoria's miniature diamond crown was designed in 1870. Today it forms part of the crown jewels, which can be viewed in the Jewel House at the Tower of London.

CROWN: GETTY IMAGES; JEWEL HOUSE: GETTY IMAGES

Early one June morning in 1837, a few weeks after her 18th birthday, Princess Victoria was awoken by her mother to greet the Archbishop of Canterbury, who delivered the news that King William IV had just died. Victoria, still in her nightdress, had become queen. That night she wrote in her journal: "Very few have more real good will and more real desire to do what is fit and right than I have."

Victoria's accession marked a significant change. Gone were the old men who had ruled for half a century, replaced by a young queen soon to have her own family. As the future British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli told the House of Commons in a speech in 1861: "She who reigns over us has elected amid all the splendor of empire, to establish her life on the principle of domestic love." The royal family represented youth, morality, and domesticity now.

Changed, too, were the regalia worn by monarchies past. A teenage queen who stood at less than five feet tall needed better-proportioned displays of royal authority. A new coronation ring was made for Victoria, and the shafts of the scepters were altered to enable her to hold them comfortably.

Victoria and Albert

One of the traditional functions of the monarchy—to marry and establish a dynasty—remained, and Victoria's mother, Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, and her uncle, King Leopold of Belgium, introduced Victoria to her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Victoria and Albert married in February 1840. More than just a blessing of bloodlines, their union was a genuinely devoted and passionate one, lasting over 20 years until Albert's death.

The British public, and Parliament, initially viewed German-born Albert as an interloper. But he nonetheless became Victoria's primary adviser and closest ally, often helping her draft correspondence. He also presented his wife with jewelry of his own design, such as the sapphire and diamond brooch he gave her before their wedding, and a gold and porcelain set, which included a brooch, earrings, and necklace that recalled the wreath of orange blossoms she wore on their wedding day. He also designed 12 eagle-shaped brooches of turquoise, representing true love. Each has a ruby for its eye and pearls in its claws; they were worn by Victoria's train bearers.

EAGLE TURQUOISE BROOCH DESIGNED BY PRINCE ALBERT IN 1839-1840

HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II, 2017/BRIDGEMAN/AC

The Woman of the Age

1819
A daughter is born to the British prince Edward, fourth son of King George III, and his wife, German-born Princess Victoria. She is christened Alexandrina Victoria.

1837
After the deaths of her father and uncles, the teenage Princess Victoria becomes queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

1838
Queen Victoria's five-hour coronation ceremony takes place on June 28 in Westminster Abbey. She writes of the day as "the proudest of my life."

The Empire Expands

As Britain's imperial reach expanded under Victoria's reign, so too did her jewelry collection. The famous Koh i-Noor ("mountain of light") diamond had already passed through many dynasties and dominions of Central Asia including that of Shah Jahan, builder of the Taj Mahal later ending up in the hands of the ruler of the Sikh empire, Ranjit Singh. When the British conquered the Sikh empire in 1849, they took the jewel from Singh's son, and presented it to Victoria.

Albert, like the crowds who flocked to see the diamond at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, was unhappy with its dull and irregular appearance and had the 186-carat stone recut into a smaller,

1840

Victoria marries her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, to whom she is devoted. The pair will have nine children over the course of their 21-year marriage.

1897

Queen Victoria celebrates 60 years on the throne, and will rule for three more years, the longest reign in British history—until Queen Elizabeth II bested it in 2015.

1901

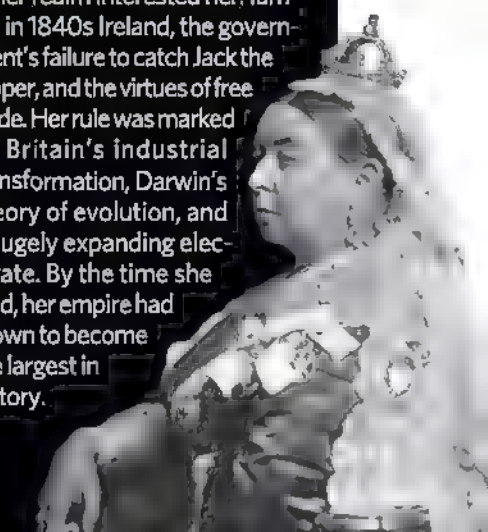
Age 81, Victoria dies in January, succeeded by her son Edward VII. She is buried near Windsor, next to her beloved Albert.

VICTORIA WEARING HER SMALL CROWN, C.RCA 1885

ALEXANDER BASSANO/ADOC-PHOTOS/ALBUM

BRITAIN UNDER VICTORIA

HER LETTERS SHOW that everything in her realm interested her: famine in 1840s Ireland, the government's failure to catch Jack the Ripper, and the virtues of free trade. Her rule was marked by Britain's industrial transformation, Darwin's theory of evolution, and a hugely expanding electorate. By the time she died, her empire had grown to become the largest in history.



COMMANDER IN CHIEF

protective of Britain's position as an imperial power. Victoria focused her attention on the Crimean War, a conflict that arose over British, French and Turkish concerns about Russian expansion in the Ottoman Empire, and the potential threat to trade routes and control of religious sites. From insisting that she be shown correspondence between British general Fitzroy Raglan in the Crimea and Lord Panmure, Britain's war secretary, to visiting hospitals of wounded soldiers in person and writing condolence letters to war widows, Victoria assumed her role as commander in chief of the British military with great resolve. As Panmure wrote, "You never saw anybody so entirely taken up with military affairs as she is."

The Crimean War was by no means a resounding military success, but it was a triumph for Victoria's reputation as a monarch who protected not only Britain's imperial interests but also the people who pursued them. Victoria would respond similarly in 1899 with the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, supporting the dispatch of troops to protect Britain's holdings in South Africa, and playing the role of imperial mother, too.

QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1856, WEARING A BROOCH CONTAINING THE MAGNIFICENT KOH-I-NOOR DIAMOND. PAINTING BY FRANZ XAVER WINTERHALTER. ROYAL TRUST COLLECTIONS

HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II 2017/BRIDGEMAN/ACI

The Jewel in the Crown

ONE LEGEND told of the Koh-i-Noor diamond is that only women should wear it, and harm will befall any man who tries to do so. Having passed through many rulers' hands over the centuries, it is now set in the Queen Mother's crown—along with 2,800 other diamonds—and is on display at the Tower of London.

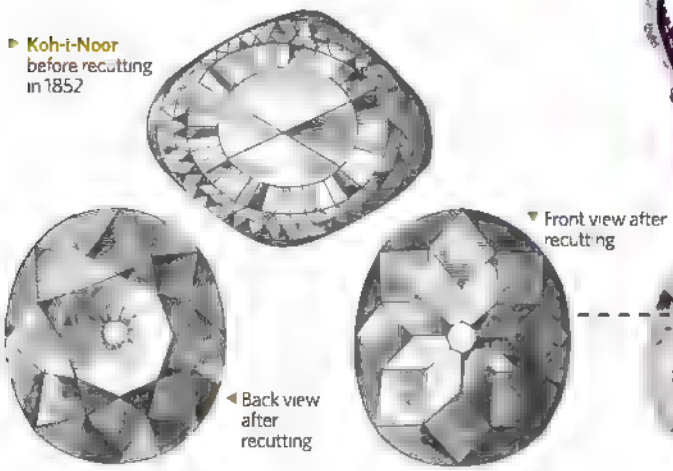


ILLUSTRATION BRIDGEMAN/ARCHIVES CROWN: JAMES/ARCHIVES

ABOVE LEFT, A 19TH-CENTURY ENGRAVING OF THE RECUTTING OF THE KOH-I-NOOR
ABOVE RIGHT, THE KOH-I-NOOR TODAY SET IN THE QUEEN MOTHER'S CROWN (1937)

more contemporary, brilliant oval shape. Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India, wrote to Victoria that he hoped she would wear it as "a trophy of the glory and strength of Your Majesty's Empire in the East." Victoria is said to have felt awkward about taking the Koh-i-Noor, and was embarrassed to show the recut gem to its previous owner, Maharaja Duleep Singh, when he visited her in 1854.

Instead of adorning the royal crown, it was worn by Victoria as a personal brooch (displayed prominently in the 1856 portrait of Victoria, left). Victoria's successors, however, did not have such qualms as to featuring it on the crown, and visitors can view the diamond today at the Tower of London, set in the Queen Mother's coronation crown.

A Widow's Crown

On December 14, 1861, Albert, Victoria's "Angel," died. "Without him, life is utter darkness," the 42-year-old queen wrote. Devastated, she refused to attend official events, eschewing the ceremonial duties that her role required. But while publicly reclusive, she used her pen to continue to play a daily and active role in domestic and European political affairs, presiding over a period of intense social reform in the 1870s and 1880s. Public health was improved and the electorate almost doubled. She persuaded the government to strengthen Britain's army, deterred Russia's plans to conquer Constantinople, and oversaw the expansion of British influence in East Asia.

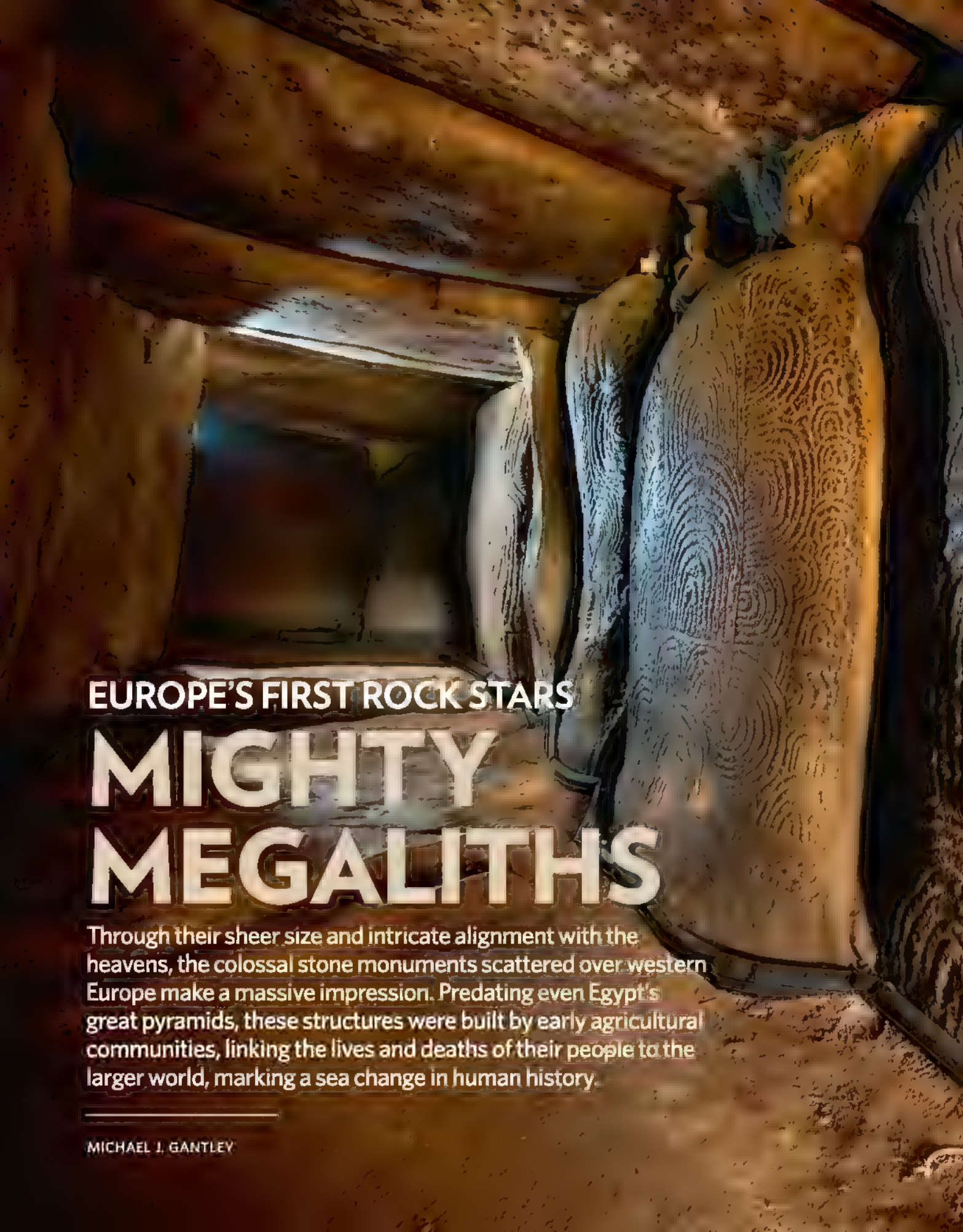
She was also preoccupied with the lives and marriages of her nine children and growing brood of grandchildren. By the 1890s Victoria was related to the royal houses of nearly every European power either directly or by marriage. Through her offspring, she monitored the monumental changes taking place in Germany and the rise of Bismarck in Prussia.

Victoria returned to public life in 1866 to open Parliament, but did so dressed in black-and-white widow's clothing. Refusing to don the imperial state crown, because it was heavy, and impossible to wear with her white lace mourning veil, in 1870 she commissioned a new, petite crown that could be placed over it.

Despite its size—it weighed only five ounces and measured four inches in every direction—the silver crown contains 1,187 diamonds that were taken from a large necklace. Its lightness and elegance distinguish it from its predecessors, but the tiny topper mimics the form of a traditional English crown, with arches, alternating crosses, and fleurs-de-lis.

Victoria first donned it at the state opening of Parliament in 1871, and continued to wear it on all state occasions, with the imperial state crown borne alongside her on a cushion. She also wore it at less formal events and for paintings and photographs. By her death in 1901, it had become so closely associated with her that it was placed on her coffin during her funeral. In 1937 King George VI added it to the regalia at the Tower of London, where it remains on show today.

—Grace Hill



EUROPE'S FIRST ROCK STARS

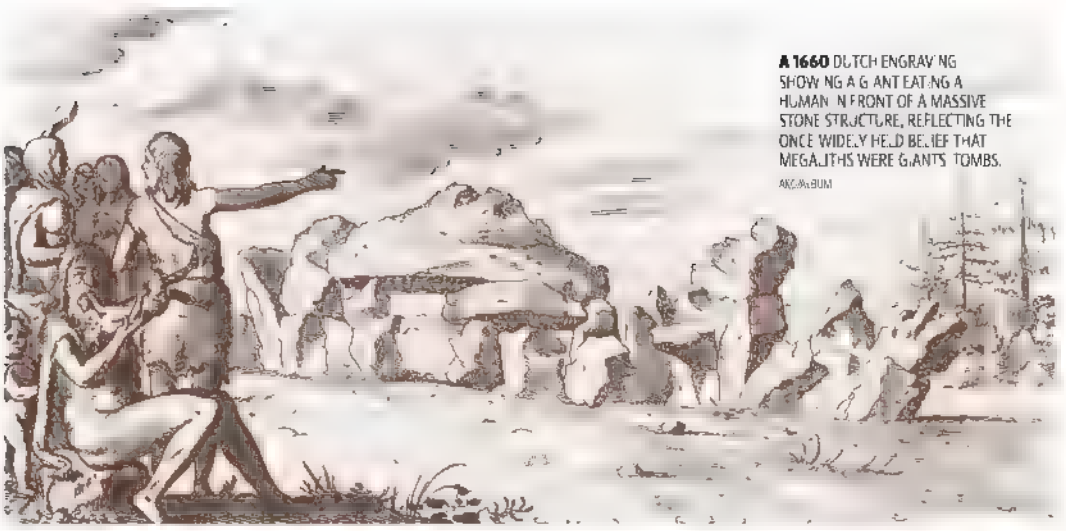
MIGHTY MEGALITHS

Through their sheer size and intricate alignment with the heavens, the colossal stone monuments scattered over western Europe make a massive impression. Predating even Egypt's great pyramids, these structures were built by early agricultural communities, linking the lives and deaths of their people to the larger world, marking a sea change in human history.

MICHAEL J. GANTLEY

PASSAGE TO THE PAST
The great passage tomb of Gavrinis in Brittany, France, was built between 3500 and 3200 B.C. Lined with richly decorated slabs, its 45-foot-long corridor leads to a funeral chamber.

STÉPHANE LEMARIÉ/GTRES



A 1660 DUTCH ENGRAVING SHOWING A GIANT EATING A HUMAN IN FRONT OF A MASSIVE STONE STRUCTURE, REFLECTING THE ONCE WIDELY HELD BELIEF THAT MEGALITHS WERE GIANTS' TOMBS.

ARCHIVE BUM

Megaliths are the most visible remnants of a European past that otherwise seems unimaginably remote. These massive stone structures, dating back more than 6,000 years, have never failed to capture the imagination of those who encounter them—from the Neolithic farmers who first conceived them to modern archaeologists now shedding light on the origins and purposes of these formidable monuments.

Every age interprets megaliths in its own way. In the Middle Ages they were seen as the work of Greek giants. The antiquarians of the 18th and 19th centuries assumed they had been erected by invading forces of Romans, Goths, or Huns.

It was a British antiquarian, Algernon Herbert, who in 1849 used the term megalith for the first time, derived from the Greek words *megas*, large, and *lithos*, stone. In the 20th century, as archaeology and scientific techniques developed, it was possible to shed light on at least some of the mysteries surrounding these silent stone titans. Experts now believe that megaliths stood at the very heart of ritual practice for the networks of communities scattered across western Europe later in the new Stone Age, or Neolithic period, that had begun around 10,000 B.C. Their function was both earthly and celestial: a focus for rites concerning the movement of the heavenly bodies across the skies, a memorial to the community's ancestors, and an awe-inspiring site to cement local loyalty and solidarity.

Rock On

European megaliths usually fall into three main categories. First came the solitary standing stone or menhir. The term "menhir" derives from words in Welsh and Breton used for stone (*maen*) and long (*hir*). Menhirs began to appear around 4500 B.C. in areas all over western Europe and ranged in height from three to 20 feet.

The second type of megalithic structure is a grouping of several menhirs, which were arranged in lines (alignments) or in circles. Spread across several sites in northern France, the Carnac Stones are alignment menhirs with more than 3,000 stone monuments dating as far back as 3300 B.C. Stonehenge, perhaps the world's most famous megalith, is a circular grouping. Located in Salisbury Plain, England, Stonehenge was built in several phases, beginning in 3000 B.C.

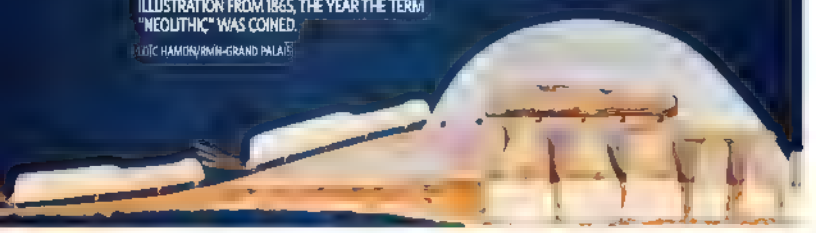
The third category includes tombs, which appeared in France, Great Britain, Ireland, and the Iberian Peninsula around 4000 B.C. The most common was the dolmen, a simple

BALANCING ACT
The Poulnabrone Dolmen, a portal tomb in County Clare, Ireland, is believed to have been in use between 3800 and 3200 B.C.

MASSIMO RIPANI/FOTOTECA 9X12

Stone Temple Pilot Programs

EUROPE'S MEGALITHS may have been built by different peoples, but they have one big thing in common: heavy rocks. To give an example of how heavy: Just one of the many slabs of the Dolmen of Menga in Spain weighs a crushing 65 U.S. tons. To put that in context, the Statue of Liberty weighs 225 U.S. tons. A typical structure was built of standing stones, known as orthostats (meaning "straight standing"), with other large slabs laid horizontally across the top. Archaeologists have worked out several theories on a smaller scale to show how these massive rocks could be put into place with the technology of the time. One possibility is that builders first marked the outline of the monument on the ground. Next they dug a deep hole for each standing stone. Then they laid the orthostats on rollers and moved them to the hole's edge. There, each could be eased upright as wooden levers pushed from behind and teams of men pulled from the front with ropes. The stones to be placed horizontally were then hauled into position up a temporary earthen ramp.



CONSTRUCTION OF A DOLMEN IN A FRENCH ILLUSTRATION FROM 1865, THE YEAR THE TERM "NEOLITHIC" WAS COINED.

LOÏC HAMON/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

OLD AND NEW
John Lubbock coined the term "Neolithic" in 1865. Meaning "new stone," it alludes to the period in which stone was polished, giving it a more refined finish than in the Paleolithic era. The techniques clearly visible on these ax heads, dating from 4000 B.C. to 2200 B.C.

BPDLEMAGAL

structure consisting of upright stones supporting a flat slab of rock, creating a single chamber underneath.

More complex tombs were also built, some of which included passages and multiple rooms. These spaces were often hidden inside a mound of earth, a cairn of stones, or a tumulus formed of both earth and stones. Sometimes several tombs of this type were grouped around a larger focal point to form megalithic cemeteries.

It was on Europe's Atlantic coast that another distinctive structure appeared: the passage grave. This type of tomb consisted of a tumulus made of earth or stone, inside which a long narrow passageway led to a funerary chamber. New rites associated with these installations also emerged, and different communities appear to have developed similar approaches to the structures. From early on, the megaliths in the Atlantic region presented common elements, ranging from design, construction techniques, orientation, and the symbols carved into the stone's surface.

Archaeologist Glyn Daniel estimated that in Atlantic Europe—the British Isles, Galicia in northern Spain, Portugal, and Brittany in France—between 40,000 and 50,000 such chambers have been preserved, although originally there may have been double this number. These burial places would have occupied dominant positions in the landscape, along the coasts, on promontories or the crests of hills.

Settling Down, Rising Up

The appearance of megalithic structures in Europe tracks with the development of agriculture. From the middle of the fifth millennium B.C. the emerging Neolithic communities of Europe began to radically transform their environment. They cut down swaths of forest to grow crops and graze their flocks. They left behind the old nomadic ways of the hunter-gatherer and settled where they were growing food. It was these first agrarian communities that created the impressive megalithic landscapes of Europe.

Why did the establishment of agricultural activity coincide with the creation of megalithic monuments? Unlike the nomadic hunter-gatherer model of survival, agriculture entailed a permanent relationship with a specific location: the land cultivated for crops, the pasture land, and the settlement itself. Constructing a megalithic structure placed a powerful visible mark of a community's ownership of, and relationship with, the portion of land that they worked. The act of constructing the vast monuments would have further reinforced the bonds among members of the community as well as legitimizing their claim to a particular place.

An increasing number of people needed to cooperate with one another. It was vital to have enough laborers to till the fields, tend the flocks, and harvest the crops. This need for collaborative work brought about the formation of ever wider networks of people unconnected by blood ties. Within this framework, there arose a system of governance that further united the community by establishing sanctions and punishments to ensure the necessary cooperation from all members of the community.

Megaliths also demonstrated how the economic aspect of agriculture could lead to the

CIRCLES AND LINES

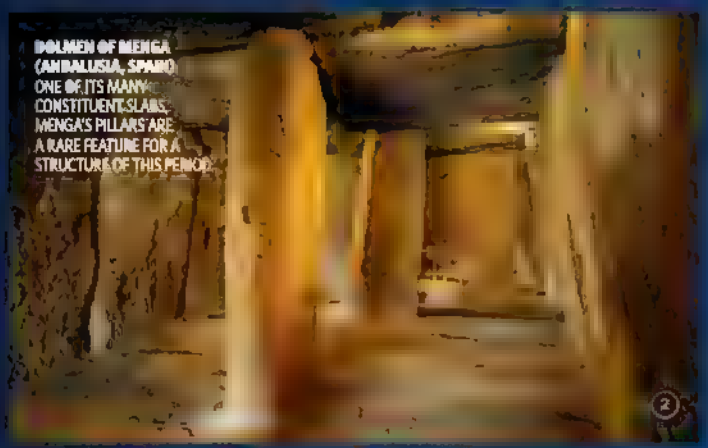
Stonehenge (above), the megalithic stone circle in southern England, was raised between 3000 and 1500 B.C. Its avenue is oriented to catch the sun's rays at sunrise on the summer solstice and at sunset on the winter solstice. The alignments of menhirs in Ménec, Brittany, northern France (below), are made up of more than 1,000 menhirs in 11 long rows and are thought to date to around 3300 B.C. Together with those of nearby Kermario and Kerlescan they form a collection of nearly 3,000 megaliths known as the **Carnac Stones.**

ABOVE: DANITA DELIMONT/GETTY IMAGES; BELOW: BENSLIMANHASSAN/GETTY IMAGES

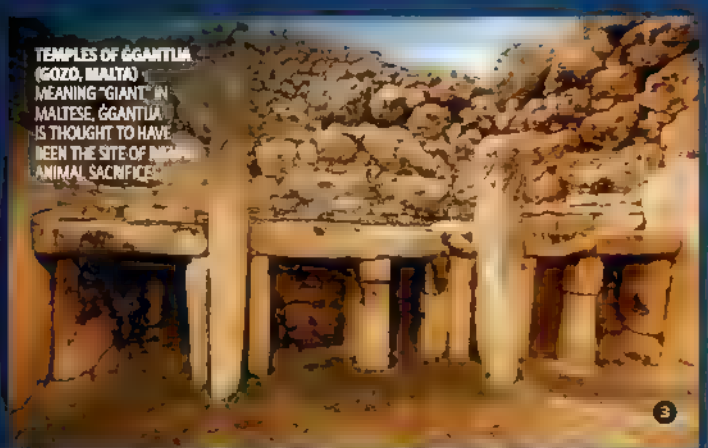
EUROPE'S TEMPLES OF ROCK

Just after 10,000 B.C., the transition to the Neolithic began in the Levant, or eastern Mediterranean. In Crete and continental Greece, Neolithic communities arose circa 7000 B.C. and then spread to the European Atlantic seaboard around 5000 B.C. Over the next 2,000 years, megalithic monuments sprang up around Europe, where they still dominate the landscape.

BARNENEZ (BRITTANY, FRANCE) THE 250-FOOT-LONG STRUCTURE HOUSES 11 PASSAGE GRAVES AND DATES TO 4500 B.C.



DOLMEN OF MENGA (ANDALUSIA, SPAIN) ONE OF ITS MANY CONSTITUENT SLABS, MENGA'S PILLARS ARE A RARE FEATURE FOR A STRUCTURE OF THIS PERIOD.



TEMPLES OF ĠGANTIJA (GOZO, MALTA) MEANING "GIANT" IN MALTESE, ĠGANTIJA IS THOUGHT TO HAVE BEEN THE SITE OF [illegible] ANIMAL SACRIFICES.

1, BERTRAND GARDEL/AGE FOTOSTOCK. 2, JERÓNIMO ALBA/AGE FOTOSTOCK. 3, PABLO MÉNDEZ/AGE FOTOSTOCK. MAP, EOSGIS.COM

THE AGE OF EUROPEAN MEGALITHS

Circa 10,000 B.C.
Transition to new Stone Age (Neolithic), beginning in the eastern Mediterranean

Circa 4500-4000 B.C.
① Barnenez tumulus, one of the oldest man-made structures in the world (Brittany, France)

Circa 3790-3690 B.C.
② Dolmen of Menga (Andalusia, southern Spain)

Circa 3650 B.C.
West Kennet passage grave (Wiltshire, United Kingdom)

Circa 3600-3200 B.C.
③ Temples of Ġgantija (Island of Gozo, Malta)

Circa 3500-3200 B.C.
Gavrinis passage grave (Brittany, France)

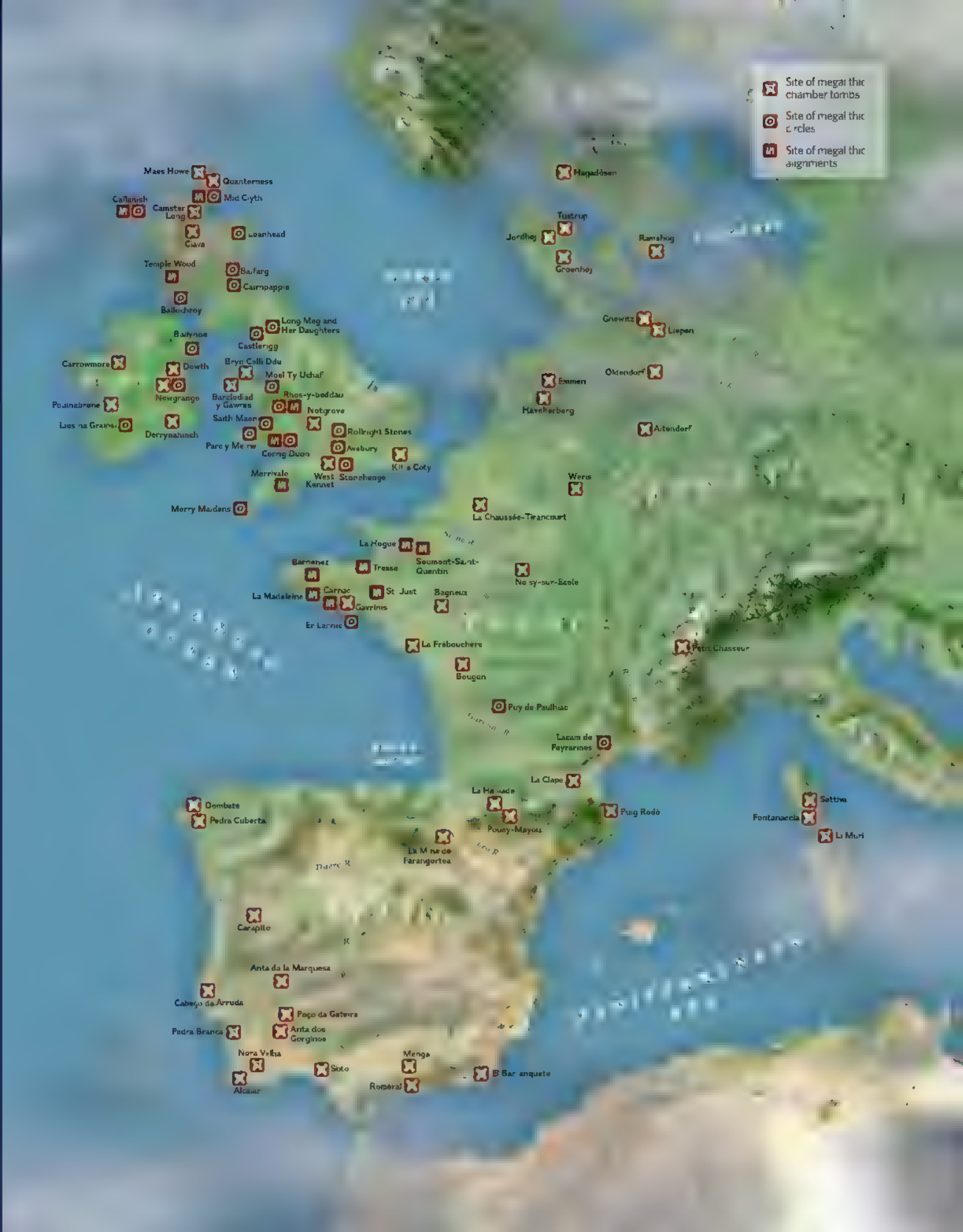
Circa 3500-3000 B.C.
Altendorf tumulus (Hesse, Germany)

Circa 3300 B.C.
Ménec alignments around Carnac (Brittany, France)

Circa 3200 B.C.
Newgrange passage grave (County Meath, Ireland)

Circa 3000 B.C.
Construction at Stonehenge begins. The present circular grouping at the site is probably created around 2200 B.C. (Wiltshire, United Kingdom)

Circa 3000-1900 B.C.
Transition to Bronze Age

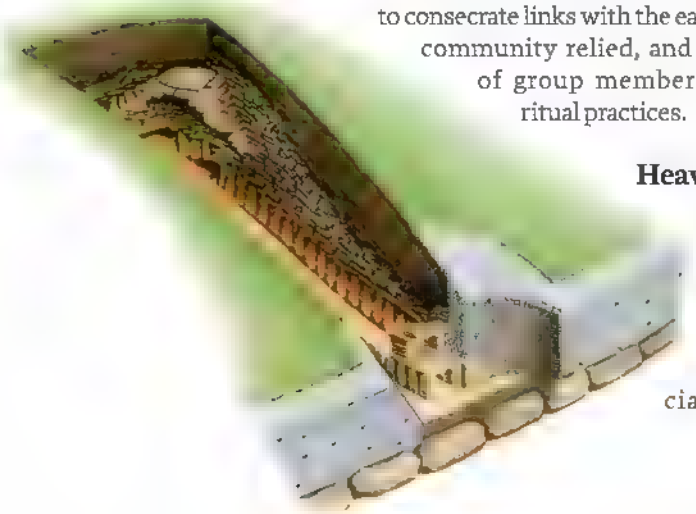

Site of megalithic chamber tombs
Site of megalithic circles
Site of megalithic alignments
Maes Howe
Quanterness
Callanish
Mid Clyth
Camster Long
Clava
Loanhead
Temple Wood
Balfarg
Cairnpapple
Ballochroy
Long Meg and Her Daughters
Castlerigg
Ballynoe
Carrowmore
Dowth
Bryn Celli Ddu
Newgrange
Barclodiad y Gawres
Moel Ty Uchaf
Rhos-y-beddau
Notgrove
Poulnabrone
Lios na Grainsi
Derrynahinch
Saith Maen
Rollright Stones
Parc y Meirw
Cerrig Duon
Avebury
Kit's Coty
Marrivale
West Kennet
Stonehenge
Merry Maidens
Hagadösen
Tustrup
Jordhøj
Ramshøj
Grønhøj
Gnewitz
Liepen
Oldendorf
Emmen
Havelberg
Altendorf
Wetis
La Chaussée-Tirancourt
La Hogue
Saumont-Saint-Quentin
Barnenez
Tressa
Carnac
St Just
Gavrinis
La Madeleine
Bagneux
Er Lannic
Noyen-sur-Ecole
La Frébouchère
Bougon
Petit Chasseur
Puy de Paulhac
Lacam de Payrarines
La Clape
La Hasnade
Puig Rodó
Pouey-Mayou
Settiva
Fontanaccia
Li Muri
La Mancha Farangortea
Dombate
Pedra Cuberta
Carapito
Anta da la Marquesa
Cabeço da Arruda
Poço da Gateira
Pedra Branca
Anta dos Gorginos
Nora Velha
Alcaiar
Soto
Monga
Roperal
El Barranquete

NEWGRANGE AT NIGHT BUILT 5,200 YEARS AGO BY LOCAL FARMERS, THE SUN-ALIGNED MEGALITHIC MASTERPIECE OF NEWGRANGE, IRELAND, IS OLDER THAN THE PYRAMIDS OF GIZA.

STEPHEN MEREDITH/ALAMY/AE

SEE NO THE LIGHT
A cutaway of Newgrange (below) demonstrates how, on the winter solstice, direct sunlight enters the aperture above the entrance.

DORLING KINDERSLEY/GETTY IMAGES



development of religion. Thanks to agriculture, communities could produce surplus food, which created a class of people who, freed from food-production duties, could dedicate themselves to leadership and protection of the community through ritual practices. So it was out of this context that the megalith was born: a combination of a closer cooperation, the need to consecrate links with the earth on which the community relied, and the emergence of group members dedicated to ritual practices.

Heaven and Earth

Many megaliths have been identified as the focal point for funerary rituals, especially, of course, structures found to house human remains. The tombs—some of which have been found to contain the cremated or buried remains of up to 200 people—suggest a group effort was made to create a connection between the deceased and the land where they lived.

It is also believed that these burials reflect a hierarchical society in which important members of the community were buried in tombs while lesser members were not. If so, power would have been seen as hereditary; blood links to ancestors would have provided certain members of the community with power over both the physical world as well as the world of the dead. The imposing presence of the passage graves would have reinforced still further the social differences between the strata of these early agrarian communities.

It was no coincidence that many megalithic tombs were constructed in locations that are ideal for observing the solstices, equinoxes, or the cycles of the moon. The remarkable Newgrange passage grave in Ireland, built around 3200 B.C., is one of the most famous examples. Over the entrance there is a cavity, angled very precisely so that light reaches the chamber on the shortest day of the year in Europe: the winter solstice, in mid-December. Now, as then, as day dawns from December 19 through 21, light penetrates this aperture and illuminates the entire length of the passage for 15 to 20 minutes each morning.

The incorporation of astronomical alignments suggests that Neolithic ceremonies were closely bound with the changing seasons. These cycles were critical to agrarian communities, whose leaders would benefit from this essential knowledge. It is also possible that the ability to accurately predict dramatic events such as solar eclipses would have significantly bolstered the power and prestige of those leaders.

Sights and Sounds

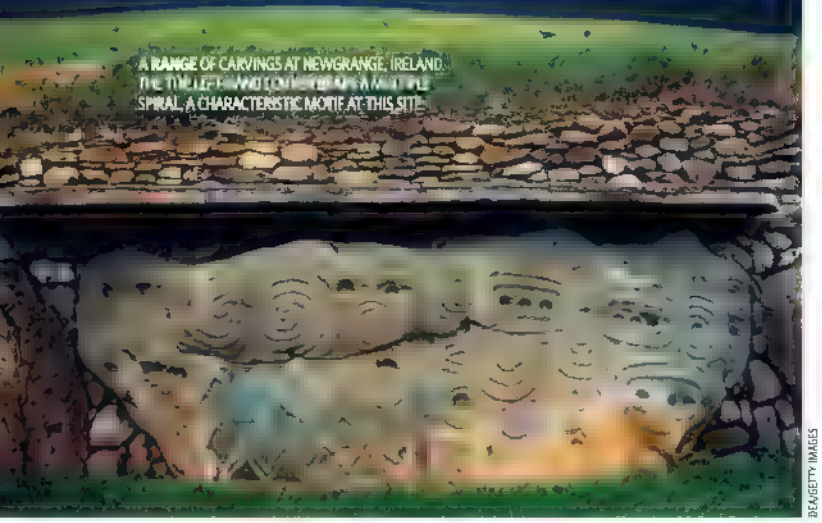
As megalithic tombs became more complex, they also grew more decorative, incorporating carved motifs and colors. Scholars such as Primitiva Bueno Ramírez suggest that a good number of these constructions in western Europe may have been decorated with pigments, especially red, black, and white. These three colors are present in the inherent makeup of the monuments: the red of the sandstone, the white of the granite or quartz, and the black of the darkness that reigns in the interior chambers.

GRAND ENTRANCE
Newgrange's 62-foot-long, flat-roofed tunnel leads to the heart of what is believed to have been a center of spiritual and astrological life in Neolithic Ireland.

DEA/GETTY IMAGES

Short Life, Long Art

AFTER THE BUILDING . . . the decorating. In Europe a complex system of carved symbols starts to emerge on megaliths from the end of the fourth millennium B.C. Spirals, for example, are a key element of Neolithic art, and are found all over the world. Of these, the bold, expressive motifs at Newgrange in Ireland are among the most stunning examples. The spiral's womblike form symbolizes life starting, and then unwinding through the process of birth, death, and rebirth. The form later deeply influenced Celtic and early Christian art. At a time when life expectancy was so short, these carvings, encoded with hopes of immortality, have become some of the oldest, and most indestructible, examples of art in human history.



A RANGE OF CARVINGS AT NEWGRANGE, IRELAND. THE TRIPLE-RING CONSTRUCTION IS A MULTIPLE SPIRAL, A CHARACTERISTIC MOTIF AT THIS SITE.

DEA/GETTY IMAGES

WITH THE GRAIN
Archaeological evidence shows that Europe's Neolithic farmers grew a variety of crops, including wheat and barley. They developed tools, such as this grindstone (below), to turn the grains into flour

JOSE CHRISTOPHEL/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Researchers Aaron Watson and David Keating focus on a different sensory dimension. They examine various acoustic phenomena associated with the megalithic chambers and demonstrate that when a drum is beaten inside the structure, it produces a series of unusual sensations related to infrasounds—i.e., sound waves below the frequency of audible range. In nature these are generated by events such as volcanic eruptions, avalanches, or earthquakes. A study was carried out to test the effect of these sounds on the people listening. It was noted that the pulse and breathing pattens of participants in the study altered. This raises the possibility that a prolonged exposure to such sounds could have led to hyperventilation—fast breathing that causes a sense of excitement.

Senses and the Spirit

The best way to understand the impact of these tombs is to try to get inside the mind of a Neolithic farmer. What would he or she have thought on encountering such a monumental structure?

It must have been a powerful focal point on the landscape, visible even from a distance, especially given the prominent places where megaliths tended to be placed. As they drew nearer to the monument, its sheer size must have been overwhelming. The entrances to some tombs were also impressive, decorated with carved symbols, and vibrant painted colors. But the most awesome moment of all must surely have come on venturing inside the cool, dark space of the tomb, reaching the funerary chamber in the presence of the ancestors.

British archaeologist Julian Thomas argues that a key factor in the design of megalithic structures was precisely to provoke a powerful emotional reaction. The architecture of the passage dictated a pattern of movements that affected all the senses simultaneously. The first steps took people into a dark internal chamber. Ducking their heads down, they then made their way slowly down the long, dark passage. With little natural light, they probably placed their hands on the walls for guidance, all the while sensing the curved forms of the carvings under their fingertips and the sounds of ritual vibrating through their body. At the tunnel's end, they might have needed to crouch down even more to enter the funerary chamber itself. All the elements combined to give a dramatic, physical sense of entering the rarefied domain of the ancestors.

The association of the megalithic monoliths with astronomical events, colors, and sounds suggests that they were more than burial places. It is likely that they were also ritual areas where preachers would have spoken, formulated astronomical predictions, and used distinctive symbols and evocative colors. It seems that the physical architecture of these monuments, when combined with these rituals, would help provoke specific physical and mental reactions and would add to the community members' sense of awe, consolidating their loyalty to the societies to which they belonged, and preserving the memory of former leaders who had died.

MICHAEL J. GANTLEY IS A TEACHER AND RESEARCHER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

ISLAND OF THE DEAD

Lying off the coast of Brittany in northern France, the tiny island of **Gavrinis** (above) is home to one of the best preserved Neolithic passage graves in Europe. Built around 3500 B.C., it is believed to be the burial site of a powerful leader. Some 50 slabs, many of which are richly decorated with engraved axes, zigzags, and serpentine shapes, make up its spectacular passageway (below).

ABOVE: FRANCIS LEROY/GTRES; BELOW: STÉPHANE LEMAIRE/AGTRES

The remains of dozens of individuals have been found inside the barrow, some with incomplete skeletons. Researchers have suggested that once the flesh had disappeared from the bones, certain body parts (craniums, femurs, tibiae, fibulae) were removed in order to exhibit them at another site as a type of relic.

NUMBER, SEX, AND AGE (IN PARENTHESES) OF THE BODIES BURIED IN EACH CHAMBER

B Northeast chamber:
One adult, male (30-40); two adults, female (20-25); one adult, gender unclear (35 or older)

C Northwest chamber:
Three adults, male (25-45); three adults, female (25-45); one adult, gender unclear (25-45); one child (3-4)

D West chamber:
Four males (17-25)

E Southwest chamber:
Five adults, male (20-50); one adolescent (?), male (16-21); six adults, female (20-40); one adolescent, female (12-15).

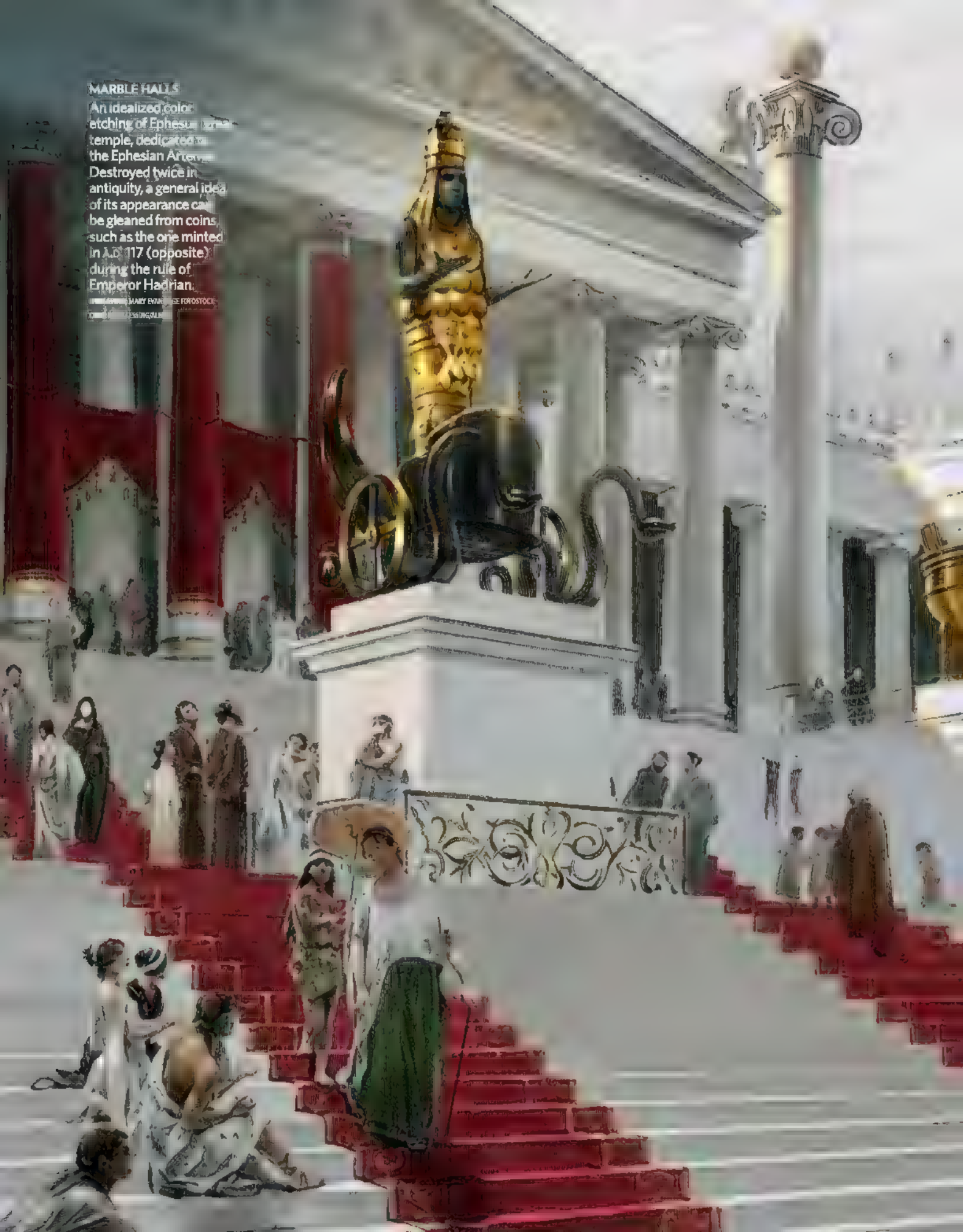
F Southeast chamber:
One adult, male (25-35); one adult, female (25-35); five children (3-6)

THE GHOSTS OF WEST KENNET

AROUND 24 MILES FROM STONEHENGE, near Avebury in southern England, is the colossal West Kennet Long Barrow. Another word for a tumulus or mound, the barrow is some 328 feet long and covers a passage grave containing five funerary chambers. Dating to around 3650 B.C., the tapering structure may have been constructed in two stages, and was in use many centuries before Stonehenge. Grass now covers the immense structure, which is believed originally to have had exposed chalk sides—clearly visible from afar, presenting an impressive spectacle for those approaching across the plain. Remains of dozens of individuals of all ages have been found in the chambers. Around 2000 B.C., the tomb and its contents were filled in and sealed; huge sandstone boulders, known as sarsens, were erected to block the entrance. The backfill consisted of stones, dirt, shards, bones—animal and human—and flint arrow heads, scrapers, knives, whetstones, bone spoons, and wild boar tusks. Fascinating generations of local people for the centuries that followed, the barrow inspired countless local legends, including tales of ghostly priests and phantom hounds. The barrow is privately owned today and managed by the National Trust.

ON ITS LONG NORTH AND SOUTH FACES, THE BARROW IS FLANKED BY A WIDE TRENCH, LONG SINCE FILLED IN. LIKE MANY OTHER MEGALITHIC STRUCTURES, THE BARROW IS ORIENTED EAST-WEST.

ILLUSTRATIONS: SANTI PÉREZ. PHOTOS: GETTY IMAGES



MARBLE HALLS
An idealized color etching of Ephesus' temple, dedicated to the Ephesian Artem... Destroyed twice in antiquity, a general idea of its appearance can be gleaned from coins, such as the one minted in A.D. 117 (opposite) during the rule of Emperor Hadrian.

MARY EVANS/GE FOTOSTOCK

GRANDEUR FOR THE GODDESS

THE TEMPLE OF WONDER

First compiled by Greeks in the third century B.C., the wonders of the ancient world listed civilization's must-see sights. Over the years, monuments came and went from the top seven—but one wonder that always made the cut was the glorious Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

FRANCISCO JAVIER MURCIA

THE LOCATION OF EPHESUS ON THE AEGEAN COAST OF ASIA MINOR IN MODERN-DAY TURKEY

DSGIS.COM

The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, located on the western coast of modern-day Turkey, inspired awe in all who saw it. First built under King Croesus in the sixth century B.C., the monument was many writers' top choice for the wonders of the world: "I have set eyes on the wall of lofty Babylon on which is a road for chariots, and the statue of Zeus by the Alpheus [Olympia], and the hanging gardens [of Babylon], and the colossus of the Sun [Rhodes], and the huge labor of the high pyramids [Giza, Egypt], . . ." the poet Antipater of Sidon, wrote in the second century B.C., "but when I saw the house of Artemis that mounted to the clouds, those other marvels lost their brilliancy."

Although the Greek traveler Pausanias also lauded the temple, describing it as "surpassing all buildings among men," its splendor had a very different effect on a Christian man in the mid-first century A.D. This man became embroiled in a dispute with the silverworkers of Ephesus, who saw that his teachings against pagan idols were cutting into the sales of figurines related to the goddess. This preacher was Paul the Apostle, who was living in Ephesus when he wrote his first letter to the Corinthians.

Fit for a Goddess

The most important Greek city of those founded along western Turkey, Ephesus was closely associated with great figures—pagan and Christian—and great buildings. One tradition holds the Virgin Mary spent her last years in a small stone house near the city. Ephesus also hosted the Library of Celsus, a great Roman center of learning founded in the second century A.D.

The city was first established by Ionian Greek settlers along the marshy delta of the Cayster River. Here, the Greeks came across a sanctuary, built by the local people and dedicated to a goddess of vegetation and fertility. The settlers identified her with Artemis—the goddess of the hunt, wild animals, chastity, and childbirth in Greek mythology (she was called Diana by the Romans). In Greek art she is typically depicted as a carefree young maiden dressed in a simple, short tunic and carrying a bow and arrows. In her Ephesian form her figure is more regal and rigid. Standing with outstretched arms, the Ephesian Artemis is often richly attired in decorated robes and layers of jewelry.

Dating back to Ephesus' founding, several structures were built in the goddess's honor. The temple that attracted such outpourings of

LOST GLORY
Although much of the Temple of Artemis has now vanished, excavations have uncovered hints of the colossal wealth for which it was famous, such as this seventh-century B.C. electrum brooch (below) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

PAGANS, CHRISTIANS, AND GOTHS

560 B.C.
Lydian King Croesus continues work on the temple dedicated to Artemis.

356 B.C.
Croesus' temple is destroyed by fire. The Ephesians slowly rebuild it on a massive scale.

A.D. 54-57
St. Paul attacks the idolatry of the temple, as told in the biblical Acts of the Apostles.

A.D. 262
The Goths pillage Ephesus causing serious damage to the temple. The structure slowly disintegrates.

A TEMPLE TO LEARNING

Another of the great monuments of Ephesus, the imposing Library of Celsus was completed in A.D. 117. Named for a scholarly Roman consul, it could hold thousands of scrolls. In the late third century A.D. it met the same fate as the Temple of Artemis: It was sacked and torched by marauding Goths.

MURATART/GETTY IMAGES

praise—and in Paul's case, opprobrium—was, in fact, a replacement for an equally magnificent building. Ephesus' earlier Temple to Artemis had been destroyed by arson in the fourth century B.C., on the very day (so the tale goes) that Alexander the Great was born.

The first monumental temple seems to have begun in 600 B.C. Its critical phase took place apparently under the rule of a non-Greek: Croesus, king of the regional Lydian people, who conquered Ephesus in 560 B.C. Known to posterity for his huge wealth—he is said to be one of the first rulers to have minted coins—Croesus furthered the work of the temple in a bid to make his mark as a man of piety and a friend of the Greeks.

The major construction was put in the hands of an architect who hailed from Crete, Chersiphron of Knossos. Despite writing in the first century A.D., long after Chersiphron's temple had been rebuilt, the Roman writer Pliny the Elder commented on the structure's vast proportions—"425 feet [in length], and the breadth, 225." Pliny explains that there were 127 columns in the building, a forest of pillars inspired by the great temples of Egypt that the architect may well have seen.

Constructing a temple on this vast scale would have posed serious challenges for the engineers of the time. As Pliny explains, "the great marvel in this building is, how such ponderous architraves [the colossal stone lintel that rests along the top of the columns] could possibly have been raised to so great a height. This, however, the architect effected by means of bags filled with sand, which he piled up upon an inclined plane until they reached beyond the capitals of the columns; then, as he gradually emptied the lower bags, the architraves insensibly settled in the places assigned them."

The Artemision, as the temple was called, was a hugely rich and powerful institution. The land around it was marked out with boundary stones, and was an inviolable place of asylum. The temple owned extensive rural properties and numerous slaves. It provided a secure location for banking to take place, the guarding of deposits, changing money, and making loans.

Artemis and Alexander

In 356 B.C. Croesus' temple was destroyed by fire. According to legend, the disaster happened, or at least was not averted, because Artemis was busy helping a pregnant woman in labor—one of her key roles—that she was not able to return to save her burning temple. The tradition says that the baby she delivered safely was none other than Alexander the Great. The culprit behind the blaze was said to be a madman called Herostratus, who confessed under torture that he had only started the fire because he wanted his name to be known across the world for having destroyed this most famous of buildings. The Ephesians tried to punish him by publishing a decree that his name be wiped from all records. But their efforts were in vain. Theopompus, a historian of the time, wrote down the story of Herostratus and helped preserve his name to this day.

When Alexander the Great liberated the city of Ephesus from the Persians in 334 B.C., he offered to pay for the temple's

DAGLI ORTI/ART ARCHIVE

OUT OF THE ASHES

THE REBUILDING of the Temple of Artemis, following its destruction in 356 B.C., is thought to have begun soon after the disaster. By the time Alexander the Great came to the city in 334 B.C., construction work was already under way. The polite refusal to Alexander's offer of funds in return for an inscription may be related to the strength of Ephesian civic pride. The temple was a center of huge wealth and power, its riches attested to by later writers such as Julius Caesar.

GODLY GUIDANCE
The best preserved marble column drum from the rebuilt Temple of Artemis, depicts Hermes (right), guiding souls to the underworld. British Museum, London

BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

The Ephesian Artemis

THE NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM of Naples houses the Farnese Artemis, a second-century A.D. Roman copy of the statue of the goddess at Ephesus. Wrought in bronze and alabaster, the figurine depicts the goddess wearing a headdress shaped like a city gate, a reference to her role as protectress of the city's prosperity. A halo in the form of a disk with griffins' heads alludes to her identity as the moon goddess. Around her neck she wears a necklace hung with acorns, a symbol of fertility. Her torso is covered with four rows of protuberances traditionally believed to represent breasts or eggs, although a recent theory argues that they may be bulls' testicles, in reference to the offering of sacrifices made to the goddess. The stiff, tubular body is reminiscent of a *xoanon*, an ancient cultic statue made at least partly of wood. Her skirt is decorated with many animals, including lions, griffins, deer, sphinxes, and bees, that reflect Artemis's role as goddess of nature and queen of all the animals.

RENÉ MATTES/STIES

ongoing rebuilding work, on the condition that an inscription bearing his name be added to it. But the Ephesians did not want the temple to be associated with any figure other than Artemis and so declined, saying that it was "inappropriate for a god to dedicate offerings to gods." The historian Strabo recorded that the "citizens erected another and better [temple], having collected the ornaments of the women and their own individual belongings." Except for the addition of a stepped platform (crepidoma), the new temple adopted much the same structure as that built by Croesus.

Having made the list of the seven wonders, the new Artemision became a major tourist attraction, drawing religious pilgrims. The temple's location in the Cayster River Valley also placed it at the end of the great trade routes running into the Greek world through Asia. Its popularity grew over the centuries as people continued to cross the ancient world to see it.

The Temple Falls

By the first century A.D. a lively tourist industry had sprung up around the temple. Crafting silver replicas of the temple, and statues of the goddess Artemis, for the numerous people who came to worship was a lucrative business. The Ephesians were accustomed to view their patron goddess with pride, but the Apostle Paul railed against the goddess when he visited Ephesus.

The New Testament records the silversmith Demetrius' outrage with Paul:

> There is danger not only that our trade will lose its good name, but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis will be discredited; and the goddess herself, who is worshiped throughout the province of Asia and the world, will be robbed of her divine majesty (Acts 19:27).

The words of Demetrius might almost have been a prediction. The world was changing, and the influence of Rome and pagan gods was waning. In the middle of the third century A.D. the Goths spread terror across the Aegean, sacking the Temple of Artemis. Partially reconstructed later, the temple never recovered its glory.

In the mid-fourth century Christianity became the dominant religion of the empire and pagan practices were banned. In Ephesus the statue of Artemis was pulled down and replaced with the cross. The goddess's name was erased from inscriptions. During his visit to Ephesus in 401, the Archbishop of Constantinople, St. John Chrysostom, may have ordered more destruction carried out.

The Artemision became used for salvage, providing materials for new constructions; many of its statues and marble decoration were removed to the imperial palace of Justinian in Constantinople. As the centuries passed, its ruins were buried under silt. The exact spot where the temple had once stood was lost from sight until, in 1869, archaeologist John Turtle Wood, carrying out excavations in Ephesus with permission from the British Museum, came upon the ruins of the most prized of all the wonders of the ancient world.

A SPECIALIST IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY, **FRANCISCO JAVIER MURCIA** IS AUTHOR OF A RECENT BOOK ON THE GRECO-ROMAN CULTURES OF EPHESUS.

THIS 19TH-CENTURY ENGRAVING SHOWS THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESUS AS IT APPEARED WHEN JOHN TURTLE WOOD FOUND IT.

BRIDGEMAN/ICI

IT'S A WONDERFUL FIND

JOHN TURTLE WOOD, an architect, was working to build railway stations in Turkey in the 1860s. There, he became fascinated by the prospect of finding the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, whose location had long since been lost under layers of silt. On uncovering an inscription in Ephesus that mentioned a paved road leading to the temple, Wood dug down and, to his joy, found the road which led him to his goal: the remains of the earlier temple built under Croesus, and its fourth-century B.C. reconstruction.

REBUILDING THE TEMPLE

Working from depictions on Roman-era coins and from the descriptions of travelers, it is possible to arrive at an approximation of how the Artemision looked following its rebuilding after the devastating fire of 356 B.C. It must certainly have been impressive: Classical authors extolled its beauty and size as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.

COLUMNS

The original sixth-century B.C. temple was said to have been supported by 127 Ionic columns roughly 60 feet high. It is believed that it was rebuilt following the same model

GARDENS

The temple was surrounded by a spacious, well-kept garden, an allusion to Artemis's role as goddess of nature.

RELIEFS
The pediment of the facade is decorated with marble sculptures, as are the lower cylindrical sections of the columns.
THE INNER SANCTUM
The cultic statue of the goddess is housed in a long, thin sanctuary (cella), where it stood beneath a six-foot-high architectural canopy (baldachin).
ALTAR
As in Greek temples, the cultic altar of Artemis opens onto the outside of the sanctuary. It was here that the priests would have made sacrifices to the goddess

WATERCOLOR BY JEAN-CLAUDE GOLVIN, ARLES ANTIQUE DEPARTMENTAL MUSEUM © ÉDITIONS ERRANCE

PLUNDER AND POWER IN THE REPUBLIC

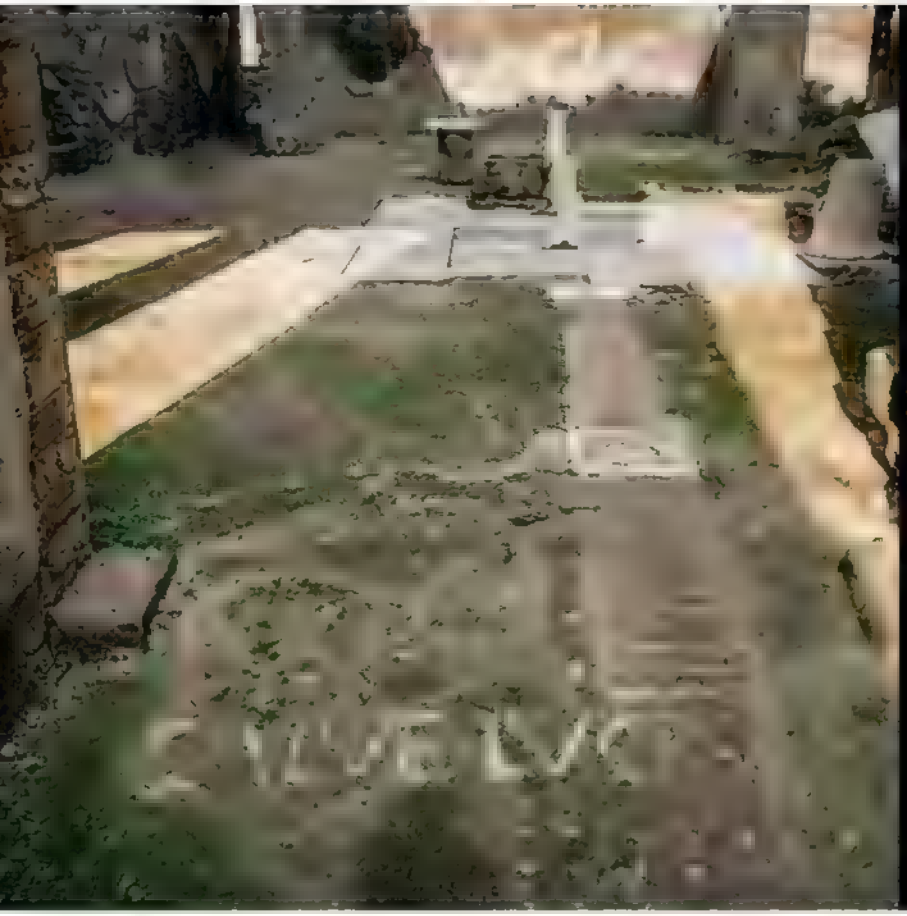
FROM ROME

ansion [illegible] into [illegible] building [illegible]

LIFESTYLES OF THE ROMAN RICH
Opulent feasts are typically associated with the excesses of the Roman Empire, but the republic was also known for decadence and luxury. 19th-century oil painting by Roberto Bompiani. Getty Museum, Los Angeles

BRIDGEMAN/AGE

JUAN JOSÉ FERRER MAESTRO
TO RICHES
and widening the divide between rich and poor



POMPEII'S BURIED PROFIT

THE RESORT TOWN of Pompeii attracted Rome's rich and powerful with its sunshine and scenery in the first century A.D. Located five miles from Vesuvius on Italy's west coast, the city had a population between 10,000 and 20,000. Elegant homes built for the well-to-do lined the streets. The *domus* (house) of Vedius Siricus, a rich trader and politician, reflected contemporary attitudes toward money: At the home's threshold is a faded inscription that welcomes visitors with the brash message (the final *M* has faded) *SALVE LUCRU[M]*, meaning "Welcome profits." Siricus's house was buried by ash from the eruption of Vesuvius in August, A.D. 79, which wiped out the city. Skeletons found there are believed to be those of people gathering valuables before they succumbed to the effects of the volcanic catastrophe.

BANKER'S VILLA

Excavated in the middle of the 19th century, Siricus's villa in Pompeii (above) was identified from the name on a bronze seal found there.

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

It was a time of lavish banquets and luxury real estate . . . at least for some. As frontiers expanded ever farther across the Mediterranean world, Rome—once the urban center of a traditional agrarian society—became the capital of capital. Military positions and banking were the best options for getting on the Roman rich list. While the nobility still mattered, there were opportunities for the poor and even freed slaves to make it big in the booming economy of Rome's first century B.C.

Fortunes of War

The most obvious way to get rich quick in Rome was undoubtedly war. At the very end of the third century B.C., the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.) saw Rome crush its regional rival, the Carthaginians, and continue its rise toward becoming the great power of the Mediterranean. As Rome's star rose, riches flooded into the capital. It was not only seen as justifiable to take *praeda* (plunder), but the fact that it had been taken in war strengthened the claim of ownership. Centuries later, a jurist commented on his Roman forebears: "*maxime ea sua esse credebant, quae ex hostibus cepissent*"—loosely translated

SILVER WINE JUG, FIRST CENTURY B.C. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS
ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

BOOTY, RIVALRY, AND WAR

201 B.C.

The Second Punic War ends with defeat for the **Carthaginians,** handing Rome control of modern-day Spain. Expanding to the east, Rome begins a long period of prosperity

168 B.C.

Lucius Aemilius Paulus triumphs over Perseus of Macedonia at the Battle of Pydna. Rome overflows with war booty and riches from the newly conquered territories.

PALATINE HEIGHTS
The ruins of Domitian's Palace stand on Palatine Hill, one of the most prestigious neighborhoods in the republic. Legends say that Romulus and Remus once dwelled there.

JANE SWEENEY/GETTY IMAGES

this means, "They believed that property to which there was the strongest claim of lawful ownership was that which they had captured from their enemies." This philosophy affected the way Romans saw the world and provided them with a rationale for profiting from conquest. In 168 B.C. General Lucius Aemilius Paulus conquered Macedonia, hauling vast amounts of plunder back to Rome to display in triumph.

An appointment to high office in a conquered province could also be lucrative. Historian and devoted follower of Caesar, Sallust (ca 86–34 B.C.), grew rich through extortion as governor of the province of Africa Nova. He used the funds to build the Horti Sallustiani (Sallustian Gardens), an opulent villa with magnificent gardens.

Richest of the Rich

Today, booms and bubbles are defended by some as a by-product of a dynamic economy and bitterly criticized by others as sources of instability. A similar discussion seems to have been taking place in the late Roman Republic. A teenager when civil wars raged between Pompey and Julius Caesar in the 40s B.C., historian Livy criticized: "In these latter years wealth has brought avarice in its train, and . . . a passion for . . . self-indulgence and licentiousness."

The wealthiest man in Rome when Livy was born was Marcus Licinius Crassus (115–53 B.C.),

81 B.C.

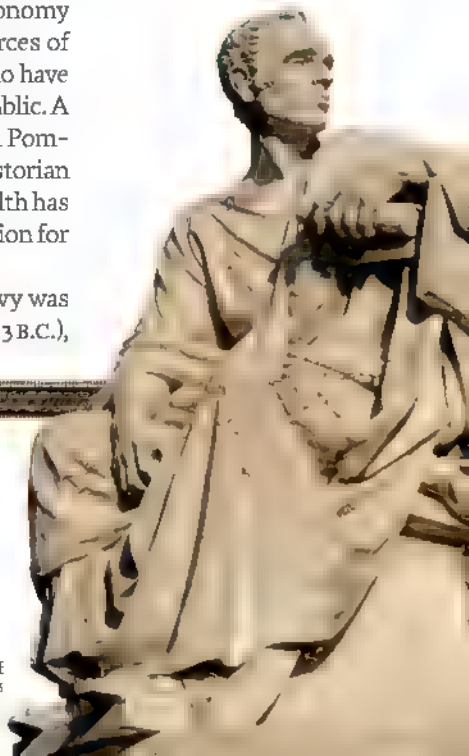
The dictator Sulla confiscates properties from his Roman enemies. His ally, **Marcus Licinius Crassus,** buys up the real estate cheap, and uses his wealth to build a political career.

61–44 B.C.

Crassus underwrites **Julius Caesar's** debt. Funded by war plunder from Gaul, Caesar's political ambitions embroil Rome in political turmoil, only made worse by his murder.

31 B.C.

In another blow to the **Roman Republic** system of sharing power among several players, Octavian defeats Mark Antony. In 27 B.C. he becomes the emperor Augustus.



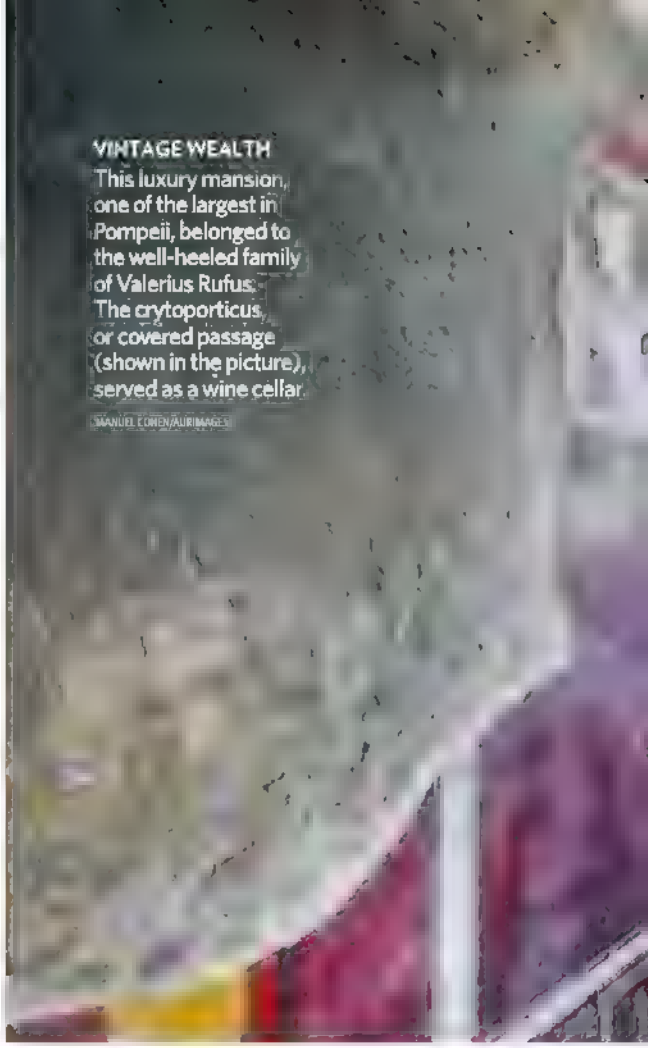
MARCUS LICINIUS CRASSUS IN A 19TH-CENTURY SCULPTURE
PAOLO GAETANO/GETTY IMAGES

TALKING SHOP
EQUITES IN THE TABLINUM OR OFFICE OF A ROMAN HOME, 19TH-CENTURY OIL PAINTING BY SIR LAWRENCE ALMA-TADEMA

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

THE TAXMAN COMETH

TAXES WERE A HATED REALITY in the republic, and some of the wealthiest Roman citizens—the equites—made a healthy living by collecting them. Rome's uppermost class, the patricians, were a leisured aristocracy, who typically governed the state through the Senate and lived off the income from their vast agricultural estates. The equites, on the other hand, worked in the lucrative financial sectors of the booming Roman economy, such as commerce, trade, banking, and tax collection. The latter activity was financially rewarding but highly unpopular. The equites would form "companies" and advance the provincial governor a sum of money in exchange for the right to collect taxes (a position known as a *publicum*, the origin of the old-fashioned term "publican" for tax collector). They then sent officials to the territory to collect payment, which was often more than the principal amount advanced to the governor. The contempt with which the office of publicum was regarded is reflected in the Gospel of Matthew. The Apostle Matthew was a crooked tax collector before he abandoned his post to follow Jesus.



VINTAGE WEALTH
This luxury mansion, one of the largest in Pompeii, belonged to the well-heeled family of Valerius Rufus. The crytoporticus, or covered passage (shown in the picture), served as a wine cellar.

MANUEL COHEN/AURIMAGES

whose life and death served as a morality tale about the pleasures and dangers of wealth. Crassus could not exactly claim to be a self-made man as he had inherited a considerable fortune from his family. But he did have a legendary appetite for making money, and his methods provide a very clear insight into how Roman capitalism operated.

Crassus built a real estate empire thanks to the actions of Sulla, who became dictator in 82 B.C. First-century A.D. Greek biographer Plutarch described how Sulla confiscated estates from his enemies and those he had put to death, classifying the property as "spoils of war." Sulla then sold off the land, and Crassus, seeing an opportunity, purchased them for a song.

In another crafty move, Crassus was known for buying fire-damaged houses and neighboring structures on the cheap. He would then use some 500 slaves, all skilled artisans, to rehabilitate the buildings. As landlord, Crassus rented them to make a good return on his investment. Through these purchases, Crassus became one of Rome's largest landowners. Through rent

collection, he added to what was already one of Rome's largest fortunes.

Pliny the Elder, writing in the first century A.D., recorded that Crassus' landholdings were valued at 200 million sesterces. To put that in context, to qualify for the Senate, a candidate had to have land valued at "just" one million sesterces. In Crassus's view, nobody could be considered rich unless they could finance their own army. The historian Plutarch recounts that Crassus raised seven legions when he was governor of Syria. It is hard to put a price on a Roman legion of the time, but it is known that a legion at the end of the first century A.D. cost 2.3 million sesterces a year.

If wealth bought an army, an army bought political power. Crassus' military muscle enabled him to form, with Julius Caesar and Pompey, the First Triumvirate. This junta of three ruled Rome between 60 and 53 B.C. before the pact collapsed. But the triumvir cum landlord ended up choking on his own wealth . . . literally. In 53 B.C. Crassus led an ill-advised offensive against the troops of the Parthian Empire (northeastern Iran). Crassus was defeated and subsequently killed at Carrhae (modern-day Harran in Turkey). One account says he died a horrible death, the Parthians pouring molten gold down his throat.

COINING IT IN ROME

In keeping with its status as a growing power, after the third century B.C. Rome minted its own coinage, the *aes grave*, or heavy bronze. Below, a first-century B.C. sesterce, minted by Julius Caesar

AKG/ALBUM

Borrowing and Lending

At the height of his wealth and power, Crassus had offered financial assistance to his future fellow triumvir Julius Caesar. Caesar needed it: He came from an ancient Roman family of noble lineage but with little money. He had to take on debt to finance his political ambitions. According to the mid-second century A.D. historian Appian of Alexandria, by the time Caesar was 40, his debt totaled 25 million sesterces.

When Caesar was elected propraetor governor of Hispania Ulterior (the south of modern-day Spain and Portugal), his creditors threatened to seize the funds he received from the state unless he paid off his loans. This was when Crassus came to his aid

A COMPUTER-GENERATED reconstruction of the triclinium (dining room) in the House of the Vettii, Pompeii

EDUARDO BARRASA

Free to Impress: Dining in Luxury

ONE OF THE MOST magnificent houses in Pompeii belonged to two brothers, Aulus Vettius Conviva and Aulus Vettius Restitutus. Far from being born rich, both were freed slaves (*liberti*), who made their fortune through trade. As a way of showing off their new social status, they had their home luxuriously decorated with statues and magnificent frescoes. Much of the splendid wall decoration is still preserved, as is the mosaic floor. This reconstruction depicts what the triclinium (dining room) might have looked like and how it would have been furnished to show off the homeowners' wealth and style to guests. Comfortable chaise longues called *lecti* were covered with cushions and animal skins. These couches allowed diners to recline while eating, an act called *accubatio*. Tables would be set with food and drink for the guests. There might also have been braziers for warmth, and oil lamps hanging by chains from the ceiling. Like the other main rooms, the triclinium opened onto the *peristylum* (courtyard).

THE WINNING CHARIOT REACHES THE FINISHING LINE ON A ROMAN MOSAIC. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF CATALONIA, BARCELONA.

ORONOZ/ALBUM

WHEELS OF FORTUNE

ALTHOUGH HE WAS AS RICH as Croesus, Gaius Appuleius Diocles was neither a landed patrician nor a tycoon, but the second-century A.D. equivalent of a professional athlete. Diocles was one of the most famous *aurigae* (circus-chariot drivers) of all time. The Portuguese-born charioteer retired from racing at age 42 following a successful 24-year career in which he won 1,462 of the 4,257 races he took part in. A specialist in driving the quadriga, a chariot drawn by four horses, Diocles competed on several different teams. His feats are recorded on a stela found at the site of the Circus of Nero (where the Vatican is now located). It says that when he retired in A.D. 146, Diocles had a fortune valued at over 35 million sesterces. In context, a small farm the century before would have cost around 100,000 sesterces.

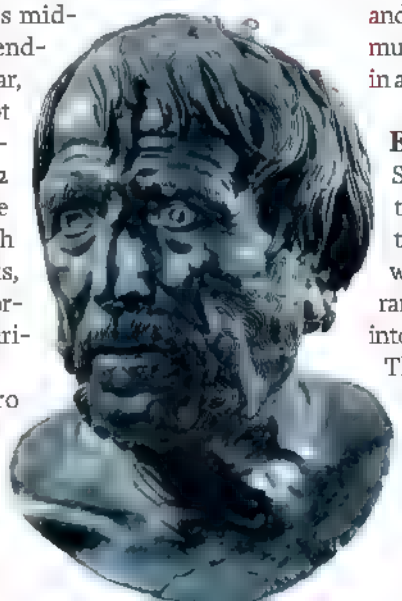
and made the loan. Caesar could now pursue his career as governor, and then use the wealth he accrued through his position to eventually pay off his debt to Crassus. A few years later, the plunder he seized in Gaul (58–51 B.C.) gave him all the money he needed to become a serious political player.

Banking also offered a path to wealth. Roman bankers performed various roles: money changing, holding deposits, acting as middlemen in auctions, and, obviously, lending money. Interest on loans could soar, prompting some legislators to attempt to tame it. A law from the mid-first century B.C. attempted to limit interest to 12 percent, but many bankers charged more if they thought they could get away with it. Despite the best efforts of the courts, leading senators and landowners were forever being discovered embroiled in usurious schemes.

The politician and orator Cicero described the power wielded by moneylenders in Rome in the first century B.C.

PSEUDO SENECA?
In the 1700s scholars mis-identified this bust (below) as Seneca, but further study revealed that its creation predated his birth. National Archaeological Museum, Naples.

DEDICINI/ALBUM



At the high point of his career, Cicero decided to move to Palatine Hill, a luxurious area for the ruling classes. He felt he deserved to live there, but his lack of aristocratic ancestry and vast family fortune forced him to resort to legal tricks and a high-interest loan to buy his property (a former home of none other than Crassus himself). Later, Cicero complained in a letter to a friend: "I bought [Crassus'] mansion for three-and-a-half million sesterces . . . Now I am in so much debt I would not hesitate to get involved in a conspiracy if someone would have me."

Earning Potential

Social status was not destiny for Romans in the first century B.C. It could limit opportunities for people; however, the ability to amass wealth could help others to rise up through the ranks. Roman citizens were typically divided into two groups: the patricians and the plebeians. The wealthy aristocrats, the patricians were a small group descended from Rome's oldest and wealthiest families; some claimed to be able to trace their lineages back to Rome's

founding. The more numerous plebeians were the working-class citizens of Rome.

Some Romans owned slaves, and if these slaves were freed by their masters, then they became the *liberti*, or freedmen. The era of entrepreneurship in Rome gave them opportunities to build up personal fortunes. Following Julius Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C. and Rome's transition from republic to empire, many liberti prospered as the new government emerged. During the reign of Emperor Augustus and his successors, some liberti enjoyed privileged positions in the most influential circles of state. These skilled administrators took advantage of their place in the inner circles to amass fortunes—in some cases even greater than that of Crassus. Examples include Callistus, whom Emperor Caligula had freed, and Narcissus, freed by Emperor Claudius, who handled the emperor's correspondence.

Outside of politics, many liberti were renowned as professionals. One famous example was the baker Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, who built a fortune after manumission. Built in 30 B.C., his elaborate tomb stands near the Porta Maggiore and is decorated with scenes from daily life in a bakery. As a freedman, Eurysaces could never attain the highest social standings in Rome, but he could display his considerable wealth through the workmanship of his tomb.

Although so many aspects of Roman life seem strange from a modern perspective, its debate on wealth and values does not. One of the richest men in Rome in the first century A.D. was the Stoic philosopher Seneca. A trusted servant of both emperors Claudius and Nero, he is said to have amassed a fortune of more than 300 million sesterces. This colossal sum jars somewhat with the admonition he writes in a letter to his friend Lucilius: "Let us become intimate with poverty, so that Fortune may not catch us off our guard. We shall be rich with all the more comfort, if we once learn how far poverty is from being a burden." The question as to whether Seneca was a hypocrite, or whether it is possible to reconcile wealth with the virtues of austerity, still provides rich debate today.

HISTORIAN JUAN JOSÉ FERRER MAESTRO HAS WRITTEN WIDELY ON ROMAN HISTORY, INCLUDING ON THE ROMAN ECONOMY AND THE ORATOR CICERO.

MAKING DOUGH

An example of the lavish tombs ordered by former slaves, this first-century B.C. mausoleum in Rome was built for Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, a baker who grew rich after being freed.

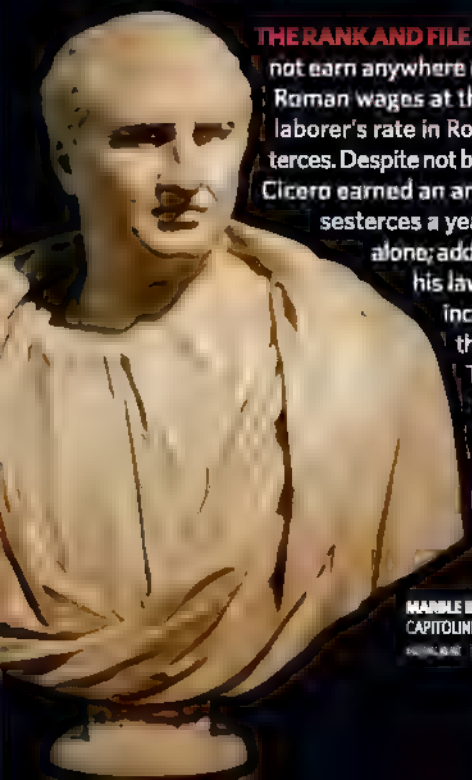
AG TRAVEL/ALAMY/AD

Haves and Have-Nots: Rich and Poor in Rome

CONCRETE DATA about incomes and wages in classical sources can be tricky to qualify. Even so, it *is* possible to make rough comparisons to give an approximation of the wealth of top earners relative to the earnings of the masses. The super-rich in the late Roman Republic included the statesman Lucius Lucullus—whose estate was worth 100 million sesterces—to Julius Caesar's contemporaries and rivals, Marcus Licinius Crassus and Pompey the Great, who each possessed fortunes valued at 200 million sesterces.

FARTHER DOWN THE SOCIAL SCALE was Marcus Tullius Cicero, whose estate—around 13 million sesterces—seems paltry in comparison. Nevertheless, the orator and statesman was undoubtedly a rich man. In addition to his luxury house on Rome's exclusive Palatine Hill, he had also inherited his father's country estate. He owned shops and at least eight farms and country villas in rural Italy, where he grew crops and raised cattle with the slaves he owned. Despite the moderation for which he was noted, Cicero's properties were equipped with all the luxury required by an owner of his status and his occasional guests. The Palatine Hill house—which he bought from Crassus in 62 B.C.—set him back 3.5 million sesterces, and yet, despite his property portfolio, the farming income for his estates, and his fees as a lawyer, he still had to struggle to secure loans to acquire his dream home on the hill.

THE RANK AND FILE of Romans, of course, did not earn anywhere near as much. Studies of Roman wages at the time put a daily male laborer's rate in Rome at around three sesterces. Despite not belonging to the elite class, Cicero earned an annual income of 80,000 sesterces a year in rent from his shops alone; add to this his farm rents and his lawyer fees, and his annual income would have dwarfed that of most other Romans. This was a growing trend. If the rich-poor divide was vast in Cicero's day, it grew far wider when the republic fell and Rome became an empire in 27 B.C.



MARBLE BUST OF CICERO
CAPITOLINE MUSEUMS, ROME

A MOSAIC FROM THE SECOND-CENTURY HOUSE OF THE LABERII IN UTICA (MODERN-DAY TUNISIA) SHOWS THE EVERYDAY WORK PERFORMED IN A ROMAN COUNTRY VILLA: MEN PLOWING, DRAWING WATER FROM A WELL, AND CATCHING PARTRIDGES WITH A NET. BARDO MUSEUM, TUNISIA

SHEILA TERRY/SPL/AGE FOTOSTOCK

A QUEEN'S LAST LOOK

chmalzs 188 c
oment when Z
mit to Roman a ity
empire. On the right
with the face

THE CONQUEROR QUEEN

ZENOBIA

Cultured, astute, and ambitious, Queen Zenobia seized Egypt from Rome and came close to transforming the Syrian city of Palmyra—called the "pearl of the desert"—into the capital of a breakaway eastern empire.

DAVID HERNÁNDEZ DE LA FUENTE

DESERT DRAMA

The magnificent second-century theater at Palmyra was probably used more for rhetorical displays than for staging plays. The image predates the first seizure of the site in May 2015 by ISIS, who have since subjected these and other monuments at Palmyra to

Wealth, culture, and power dwelled in the city of Palmyra in the third century A.D. This cosmopolitan capital of the Roman province of the same name lay close to the empire's eastern borders, providing the setting for Queen Zenobia's ambitious power play.

ZENOBIA'S EMPIRE

Consolidating the gains made by her husband against the Persians, from A.D. 268 Zenobia exploited Roman imperial weakness, annexing swaths of modern-day Syria, Turkey, and Egypt.

NG MAPS

The showdown had been decades in the making. By the middle of the third century A.D. the Roman Empire was mired in political and economic crisis, its frontiers under constant attack, and its center struggling to hold. The catastrophic defeat and capture in 260 of Emperor Valerian by the Persians thrust Roman rule into even greater disarray. In Europe the rebel Gallic empire started to break away from Rome. Weakened and distracted, the empire was facing threats on all fronts. Observing from the east, Zenobia saw her opportunity and knew that she had an empire to gain.

Palmyra had a history of cooperation with Roman rule, and this had resulted in many benefits for the desert kingdom. Located in the middle of modern-day Syria, around 130 miles northeast of Damascus, Palmyra had prospered since coming under Roman control in the first century A.D. Sitting at the crossroads between the Mediterranean world ruled by Rome and the great empires of Asia, it became a center of huge strategic and economic importance.

An obligatory stopover for the caravans that traversed the deserts, the wealth flooding into Palmyra gave its rulers the means to beautify their city, as well as the confidence to assert themselves regionally. Known as the "pearl of the desert," the oasis city was famed for its magnificent buildings, such as its Arch of Triumph and an impressive theater. By the middle of the third century the Palmyrene empire was already enjoying a certain independence—albeit as a client state within the Roman Empire. Zenobia sought to change that.

Queen's Move

Over the centuries, Zenobia's life story has been subjected to a great deal of scholarly speculation. The colorful but unreliable *Augustan History*, a late Roman collection of biographies, states that Zenobia associated herself with the Ptolemies of Egypt, including Cleopatra. Eastern historians, such as the ninth-century Persian al-Tabari, believed that Zenobia was not Greek but of Arab descent. Modern historians agree that the queen of Palmyra did not descend from the Ptolemies and most likely came from an influential Palmyrene family in which she had been well educated.

Little is known of her exact upbringing and education. Drawing on sources from the Roman Empire, the 18th-century British historian Edward Gibbon penned detailed descriptions

DREAMS OF EMPIRE

268
Queen of Palmyra, Zenobia seizes swaths of territory and withdraws her loyalty to Rome.

269
Exploiting weak central rule, the queen launches a conquest of Egypt, Rome's richest province.

270
Battle-hardened Emperor Aurelian imposes order on the Roman Empire and discipline on his forces.

272-274
Aurelian besieges Palmyra, defeats Zenobia. She dies around 274, the exact circumstances unknown.

EMPEROR AURELIAN, THIRD-CENTURY BUST. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, BRESCIA, ITALY

DAGLI ORTI/DEA/ALBUM

A FORMIDABLE ENTRANCE

The second-century Tetrapylon consisted of four groups of four columns and served as a monumental gateway, flanked on each side by Palmyra's Great Colonnade. The image predates its partial destruction by ISIS in January 2017.

PAUL BOYLE/COMMISSIONED BY NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

of her in his six-volume classic, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire:*

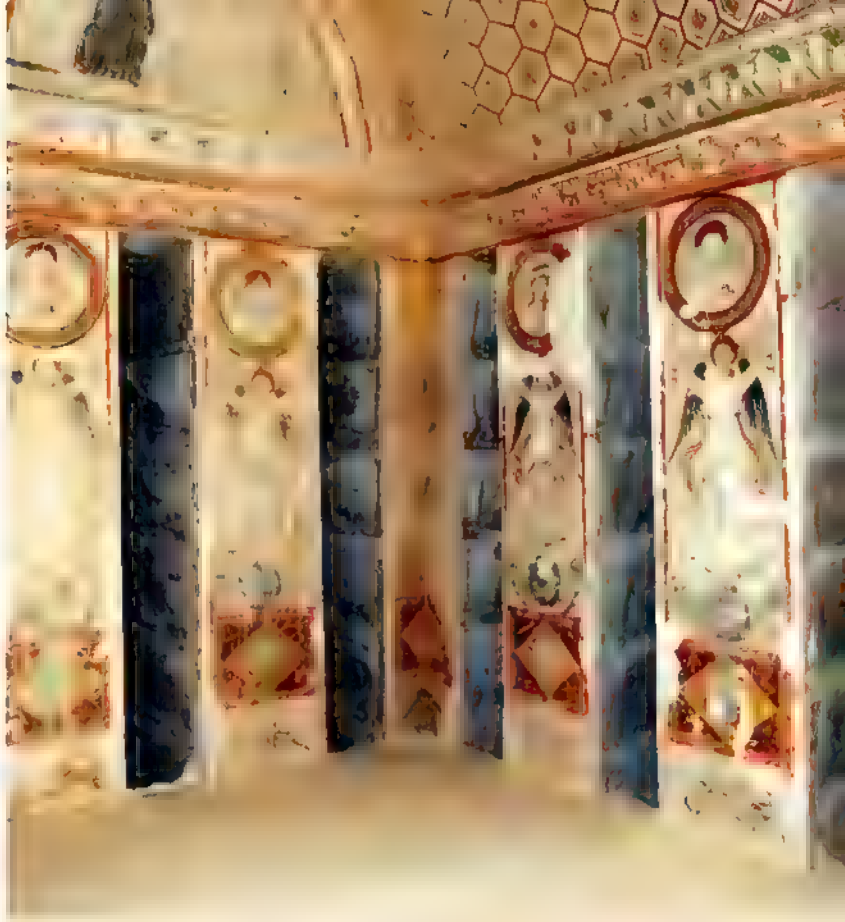
> Modern Europe has produced several illustrious women who have sustained with glory the weight of empire; nor is our own age destitute of such distinguished characters… Zenobia is perhaps the only female whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex… Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely as well as the most heroic of her sex… Her manly understanding was strengthened and adorned by study. She was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but possessed in equal perfection the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages.

Zenobia married Odaenathus, a Romanized Arab and ruler of Palmyra. Reigning from 263, Odaenathus successfully defended Palmyra from the Persians, who were riding high after their humiliating defeat of Emperor Valerian. Remaining loyal to Rome—outwardly at least—Odaenathus managed to break through the Persian lines and force them to retreat to Persian territory.

From the outset, Odaenathus claimed to be acting on Rome's behalf, but it soon became clear that he wanted to establish himself as "monarch of the East." Given Rome's tenuous position, the new emperor—Valerian's son, Gallienus—had little choice but to acknowledge the powerful status of Odaenathus. Already boasting several titles awarded by Rome, including *corrector totius Orientis* (governor of the entire East), Odaenathus was also crowned "king of kings" by his own people. Palmyra might have become the capital of a new empire, but it was not to be. Odaenathus's ambitions were thwarted by a palace intrigue in 267. On returning from a campaign against the Goths in Cappadocia (central Turkey), a relative murdered him in his palace.

Zenobia's moment had arrived. Her son by Odaenathus, Wahballat (Vaballathus in Latin) was the heir, but still a child. Zenobia declared herself regent, a move that allowed her to seize control of territories in the east, recently taken from the Persians. She executed the parties responsible for her husband's death, and then set to end the fiction that Palmyra and its domains were submissive to the Roman Empire and its emperor. Zenobia knew how to take advantage of the Roman Empire's moment of weakness. She scorned Emperor Gallienus and his generals, who were powerless to stop her. When the next, short-lived Roman emperor, Claudius Gothicus, acceded, he had no choice but to recognize her sovereignty. Zenobia had achieved her aim: to make Palmyra an equal to Rome.

Little by little, with astuteness and the wise advice of her counselors, Zenobia widened the break with Rome. Keeping the Persians at bay to the east, she annexed various neighboring states, including all of Syria and most of Anatolia (modern-day Turkey). In 269 she sent her forces into Egypt and seized Alexandria. By 270 she had taken control of all of Egypt, its wealth, and the grain it supplied to Rome. Her empire looked unstoppable.



TARIK VAGE FOTOSTOCK

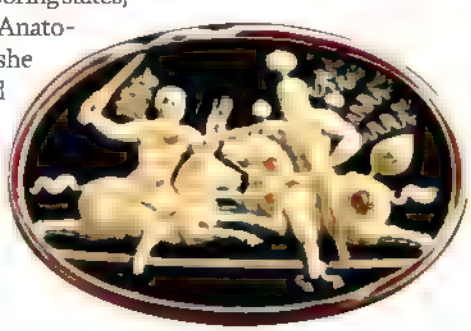
TOWERING TOMBS

PALMYRA'S VALLEY OF THE TOMBS is made up of distinctive burial chambers, often in the form of towers. Reflecting the city's rich cultural heritage, many were decorated with paintings, reliefs, and statues. The second-century Tomb of the Three Brothers (above) could hold more than 300 bodies and is decorated with scenes from Homer's epic poem *The Iliad*.

PERSIAN INCURSION

Roman emperor Valerian was trounced by Persian ruler Shapur I in A.D. 260, a clash depicted on this fourth-century cameo. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM



A QUEEN'S AMBITION

A third-century relief from Palmyra depicts Zenobia as the goddess Ishtar, with her servant as the goddess Tyche.

BRITISH MUSEUM/WERNER FORMAN

Meeting Her Match

Rome's next emperor of consequence, Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, was a very different kind of adversary. Taking power in 270, Aurelian possessed a rigid military discipline forged in battle on the imperial frontiers. His ferocity on the front line was legendary, giving rise to a verse of a song in Latin: "*Mille, mille, mille occidit!*—A thousand, a thousand, a thousand he's killed!" During the four brief years of his reign, this hardened soldier won his predecessors' war with the Goths, repelled a barbarian invasion of northern Italy, and restored Roman rule in the unruly provinces of Gaul, Britannia, and Hispania.

Zenobia's growing power and open defiance of Roman authority, especially following the declaration of her own son as Caesar in 271, could not help but attract Aurelian's attention. The challenge she presented far exceeded that of a male ruler gone rogue: "Now all shame is exhausted," the *Augustan History* lamented, "for in the weakened state of the [Roman] commonwealth things came to such a pass that . . . a foreigner, Zenobia by name . . . proceeded to cast about her shoulders the imperial mantle [and ruled] longer than could be endured from one of the female sex."

Aurelian retaliated, taking back territory from Zenobia as his legions advanced through Asia Minor. Near Antioch, her army of 70,000 men made a stand, but after Aurelian's forces defeated them, the remaining soldiers retreated to Palmyra. Aurelian's legions pursued them and arrived at the city walls in 272.

They laid siege to Palmyra, but Zenobia was confident that her archers and cavalry could repel them. If that did not work, perhaps the Romans would succumb to hunger and the merciless desert climate. According to the *Augustan History*, the queen fired off a message full of characteristic defiance: "From Zenobia, Queen of the East, to Aurelian Augustus . . . You demand my surrender as though you were not aware that Cleopatra preferred to die a queen rather than remain alive, however high her rank."

Stung by this rebuff from a woman, Aurelian redoubled his efforts to take the city. In desperation, the queen tried to flee eastward to Persia but was captured—the *Augustan History* relates—when she reached the Euphrates River. The city soon surrendered.

DEA/ALBUM

PLEA BARGAINING

SOURCES RECOUNT that Zenobia attempted to flee the siege of Palmyra on a dromedary. Caught by Roman troops, she was brought before Emperor Aurelian, a scene depicted in this 1717 painting by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. Pleading for her life, Zenobia reportedly blamed her anti-Roman policy on one of her advisers, the Greek-born philosopher Cassius Longinus, whom Aurelian then had executed. Prado Museum, Madrid

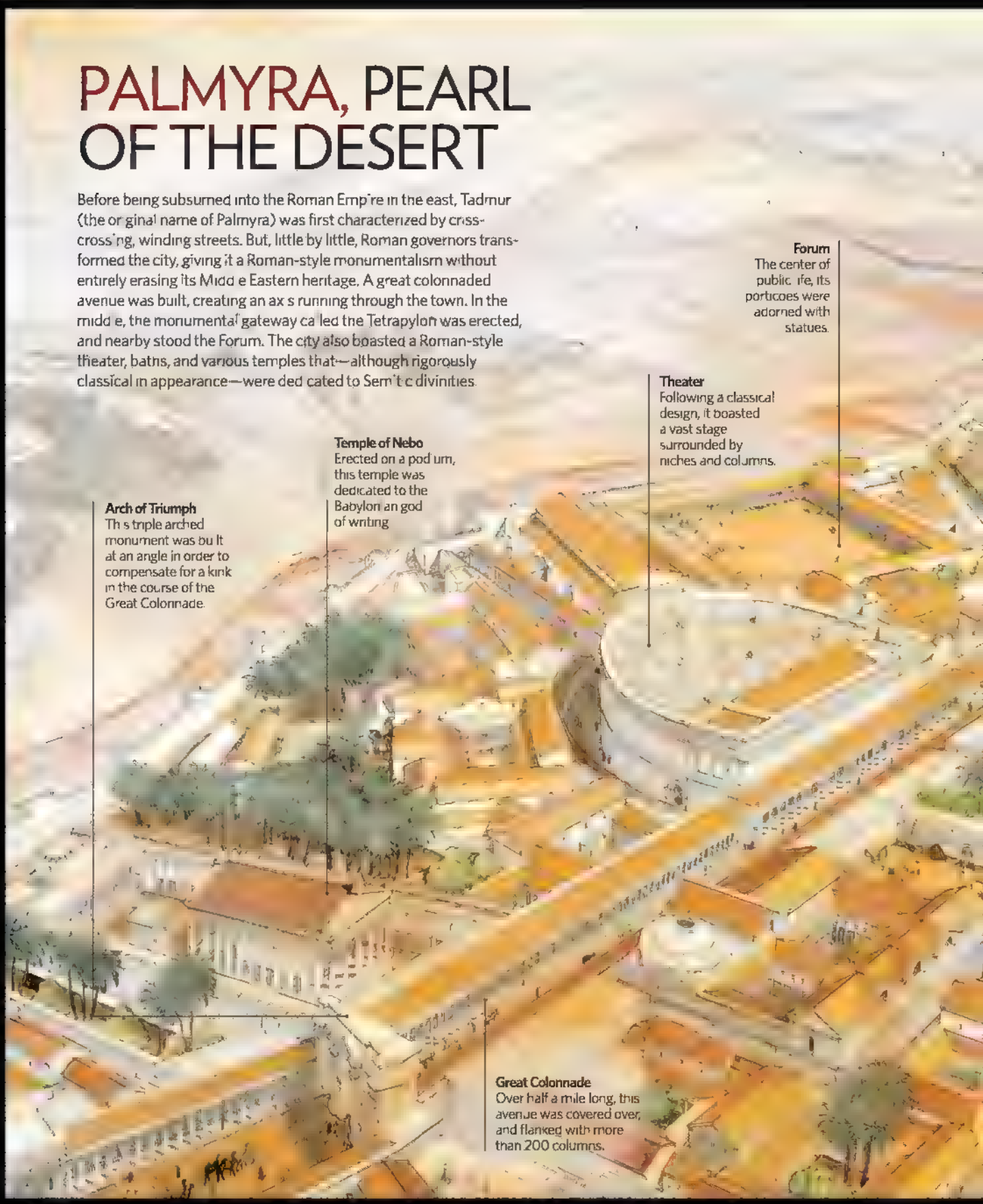
Zenobia's Legacy

Much like her birth, the exact circumstances of Zenobia's death are uncertain. Some Arab sources say that she committed suicide to avoid capture. Roman sources claim that Aurelian, unwilling to put a woman to death, brought her as a captive to Rome. The queen, it was said, had always longed to visit Rome, "and this hope was not unfulfilled," the *Augustan History* recorded with irony: "for she did, indeed, enter the city . . . but vanquished and led in triumph." Some sources claim she was decapitated there. Others recount that she married a Roman senator and lived out her life as a Roman matron. Whatever befell her, Zenobia has captured the imagination of generations of writers, enthralled by the exploits of this powerful queen who defied Rome.

DAVID HERNÁNDEZ DE LA FUENTE IS THE AUTHOR OF MANY BOOKS ON CLASSICAL HISTORY AND A SPECIALIST ON THE LATE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE EMPIRES.

PALMYRA, PEARL OF THE DESERT

Before being subsumed into the Roman Empire in the east, Tadmur (the original name of Palmyra) was first characterized by criss-crossing, winding streets. But, little by little, Roman governors transformed the city, giving it a Roman-style monumentalism without entirely erasing its Middle Eastern heritage. A great colonnaded avenue was built, creating an axis running through the town. In the middle, the monumental gateway called the Tetrapylon was erected, and nearby stood the Forum. The city also boasted a Roman-style theater, baths, and various temples that—although rigorously classical in appearance—were dedicated to Semitic divinities.


Forum
The center of public life, its porticoes were adorned with statues.
Theater
Following a classical design, it boasted a vast stage surrounded by niches and columns.
Temple of Nebo
Erected on a podium, this temple was dedicated to the Babylonian god of writing
Arch of Triumph
This triple arched monument was built at an angle in order to compensate for a kink in the course of the Great Colonnade.
Great Colonnade
Over half a mile long, this avenue was covered over, and flanked with more than 200 columns.

Valley of the Tombs
Numerous funerary towers have been found in this great necropolis as well as third-century hypogea (underground tombs)
Temple of Baalshamin
This temple was dedicated to the Lord of the Heavens, the supreme Phoenician deity
Oval Plaza
Surrounded by columns, the plaza was united by an architrave and decorated with delicate frieze designs.
Tetrapylon
Its four pedestals, enclosed by four granite columns, would each have housed a statue.

ILLUSTRATION: JEAN-CLAUDE GOLVIN, MUSÉE DÉPARTEMENTAL ARLES ANTIQUE © ÉDITIONS ERRANCE

THE EXPLOSIVE LEGACY OF

GUY FAWKES

Years of religious turmoil in England led to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, a Catholic conspiracy to blow up the Houses of Parliament and kill the king. Thirteen men planned the attack, but only one—the notorious Guy Fawkes—remains famous to this day.

JAMES SHARPE

GEOFF DANN/GETTY IMAGES

REBEL WITH A CAUSE

Once derided as a traitor, Guy Fawkes has become a symbol of rebellion, his likeness now associated with protest movements.

ARTPARTNER-IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

THE PLOT THICKENS

Robert Catesby, the mastermind of the Gunpowder Plot, is depicted (second from right) with seven co-conspirators in this 1794 engraving. By the 19th century Catesby's fame was increasingly eclipsed by that of Guy Fawkes.

GILARDI/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Late in October 1605 an English nobleman, Lord Monteagle, received a mysterious letter. Along with the rest of England's peers and the king, Monteagle intended to attend the opening of Parliament a few days later, on November 5. Tensions were high in England at this time. Many English Protestants suspected that members of the Catholic minority were plotting to topple the monarchy and impose a Catholic regime with foreign funding and aid.

The unsigned letter was to the point: "My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation, therefore I would advise you as you tender your life to devise some excuse to shift of your attendance at this parliament . . . for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow."

The mysterious sender then urged Monteagle to burn the letter after having read its contents. Monteagle—a Catholic—did no such thing. Saving himself from the gruesome punishment that would soon engulf certain of his co-religionists, he forwarded the missive to Robert Cecil, chief minister of King James I.

The letter made its way to King James, who doubted, at first, that the threat was genuine.

PATH TO THE PLOT

1588 — **Elizabeth I** routs the Spanish Armada sent to invade England. A series of foiled plots fuels suspicion of English Catholics—even though most are law-abiding.

1603 — **James I** takes the throne. Pursuing tolerance toward Catholics and peace with Spain, James also attempts to strengthen the Protestant settlement of 1559.

MEDAL ISSUED TO COMMEMORATE THE 1588 DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM/BRIDGEMAN/AC

Despite the royal skepticism, on November 4, the Earl of Suffolk conducted a search of the Palace of Westminster and its environs, where England's Parliament was due to meet the next day. The earl reported that he found no substantial cause for concern, but he did notice a privately rented ground-floor storeroom that contained an unusually large amount of firewood.

A Legend Is Born

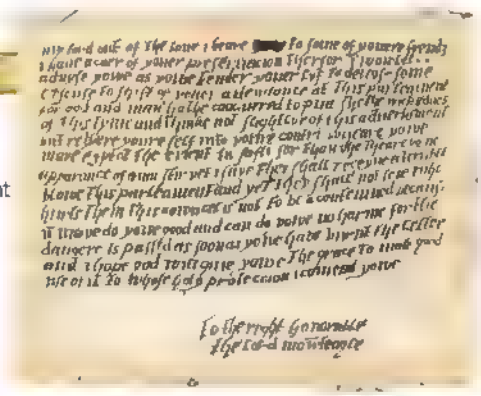
Later that day, Sir Thomas Knyvett, a minor but trustworthy royal official, oversaw a second search of the buildings around Parliament. The same storeroom likewise attracted his attention, as did the man Knyvett found guarding it. He was not dressed like a watchman; instead he was wearing a cloak, boots, and spurs—clothes more suited, it seemed, for making a quick getaway on horseback.

Knyvett's men shifted the firewood and found 36 barrels of gunpowder hidden behind it. The man, who gave his name as John Johnson, was found to have "matches" (long fuses) on his person. Knyvett had uncovered an astonishing conspiracy to blow up the members of both Houses of Parliament, the king, most of the royal family, and leading officers of state. The aim was to set up a Roman Catholic regime in Protestant England, with James I's daughter Elizabeth—who would not be in attendance—as its puppet ruler.

DEAD LETTER

Who wrote these hasty lines (below) to Catholic peer Lord Monteagle, warning h m of the plot? The missive enabled the government to foil the consp racy, but the identity of its author has puzzled generations of h storians.

HULTON ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES



1604

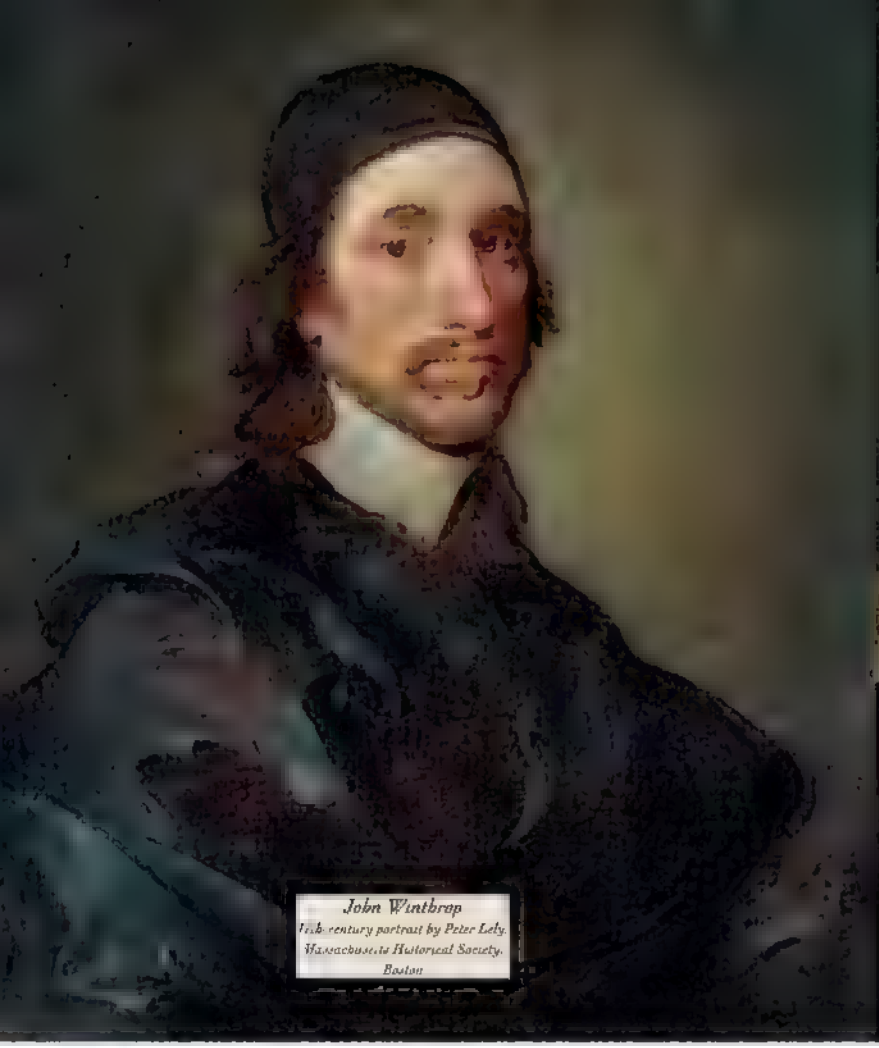
Frustrated with James I's anti-Catholic polic es, Robert Catesby begins organizing a group of English Catholics, including exp.osives expert Guy Fawkes.

1605

The conspirators stockpile explosives to b ow up Parliament. Their plan is fo ed on the night of November 4-5, and the plotters are arrested or killed while try ng to escape.

1606

In January the surviving plotters are executed at Westminster. Parliament declares November 5 to be an annual day of thanksgiv ng.



BRIDGEMAN/AC

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

Arrested and tortured, John Johnson revealed that he was from Yorkshire in northern England and that his real name was Guy Fawkes. He was one of several Catholic conspirators in what became known as the Gunpowder Plot. While not the ringleader himself, Fawkes became the best known member of the most famous conspiracy in English history. His capture has been illustrated in countless schoolbooks, novels, popular works of history, and movies: a tall, bearded figure in boots, dark cloak, and dark, wide-brimmed hat. It is his figure that is still burned in effigy on bonfires around England every year on November 5.

Drastic Measures

To understand the motivations of the man arrested that November night more than 400 years ago, however, it is necessary to examine an England and a Europe different from today. Fawkes and his fellow conspirators attempted to mount a terrorist attack on their own king and government because of religious upheavals occurring half a century before.

The political and religious instability unleashed by the Reformation had resulted in pitting Catholics against Protestants throughout Europe. In England religious strife resulted in the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558. The following year she and her advisers created a religious "settlement," which envisaged a Protestant national church. The monarch was at its head, although it retained bishops, along with the traditional church courts and some pre-Reformation ceremonial practices.

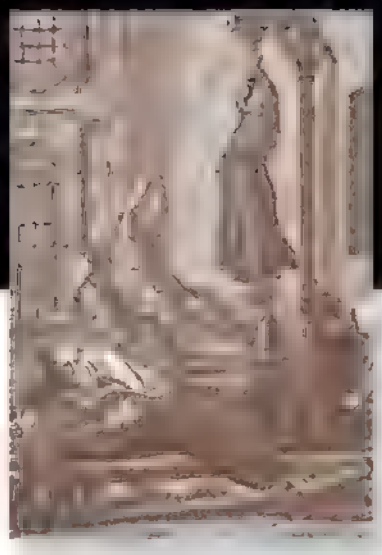
Many English Catholics refused to accept the 1559 settlement. In this period it was generally accepted in Europe that all subjects of a state should adhere to its official form of Christianity. To achieve this religious uniformity, the Elizabethan regime forbade Catholic worship, including performance of baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Being a practicing Catholic was punishable by law. Fines, which could be very heavy for habitual offenders, were imposed on those refusing to attend Church of England services. Printing or importing Catholic books became high treason. Foreign-trained English Catholic priests who

MARY EVANS/SCALA, FLORENCE

THE SEARCH FOR COMPROMISE

A KING CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE

ON TAKING the throne in 1603, **James I** (center) had to navigate between the Puritan and Catholic faiths of his kingdom. Puritans sought to "purify" the Church of England of any remaining Catholic elements after Elizabeth I's religious settlement of 1559. Despite having been baptized by a radical Protestant, James was too pragmatic to abandon the center ground established by Elizabeth. In 1611 he banned the Puritans' bible and published his own, the King James Bible. Some Puritans, such as **John Winthrop** (far left), who later became the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, opted to leave and settle in the New World. On the Catholic question, James began his reign by ending fines levied on Catholics who did not attend church. Following the Gunpowder Plot, the state persecuted clandestine Catholic priests such as **Father Oldcorne** (left), executed in 1606. With regard to lay Catholics, however, James did not order a crackdown. Later, his warm relations with Spain perturbed many Protestants. After James died in 1625, Catholic-Protestant tensions, far from being resolved, continued to escalate.



PERSECUTING PRIESTS

A 17th-century engraving by Gaspar Bouttats depicts the torture of priests Nicholas Owen—who died on the rack—and Edward Oldcorne in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot. Neither had any connection to the consp racy

SCALA, FLORENCE

entered England were declared traitors, as were those who helped, housed, or hid them.

All men taking administrative office, from members of Parliament to schoolteachers, had to swear an oath denying the power of the pope and recognizing Elizabeth as head of the church. Elsewhere, England was involved in constant warfare in Ireland, which was populated by Catholics. English statesmen feared Spanish intervention on behalf of England's Catholics, while, conversely, English Catholics looked to Spain for armed support in a potential rebellion.

English Protestant propaganda stressed atrocities committed in the name of Catholicism. The English population was also constantly reminded of the more than 280 people burned in five years by Elizabeth's Catholic predecessor, Mary I, and the 1570 papal bull, which had declared Elizabeth illegitimate and encouraged her subjects to rebel against her. By the close of the 16th century the Spanish Armada—dispatched in 1588 by Philip II of Spain, and defeated by Elizabeth—was still a fresh memory, along with its mission to reimpose Catholicism in England.

Religion also dominated the situation on the other side of the English Channel. In France the Wars of Religion pitted French Catholics against French Protestants. Farther north, the Protestant Dutch Republic was embroiled in a bitter conflict with Spain. The sack of Antwerp by Spanish troops in 1576 provided English Protestants with another example of Catholic cruelty.

After Elizabeth I's death in 1603, hopes were high that her successor, James I (who had ruled Scotland as James VI), would begin a new era of peace. The son of the Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots, James was Protestant, but English Catholics were hopeful he would be more sympathetic to them. Even Spanish agents expressed doubts about stirring up a Catholic uprising in England now that James had taken the throne. International relations took a more placid turn as well. At the signing of the Treaty of London of 1604, England agreed to end aid to the Protestant Dutch, and Spain agreed to give no military assistance to English Catholics.

LOOK AND LEARN/BRIDGEMAN/AC

DHM/BRIDGEMAN/AC

EVIL INTENT

Bearing his lantern, Guy Fawkes skulks outside the gunpowder filled storeroom near Parliament. The illustration appeared in a 1630 edition of *A Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercie*, an account of "popish plots." In the background is London Bridge with traitors' heads on spikes.

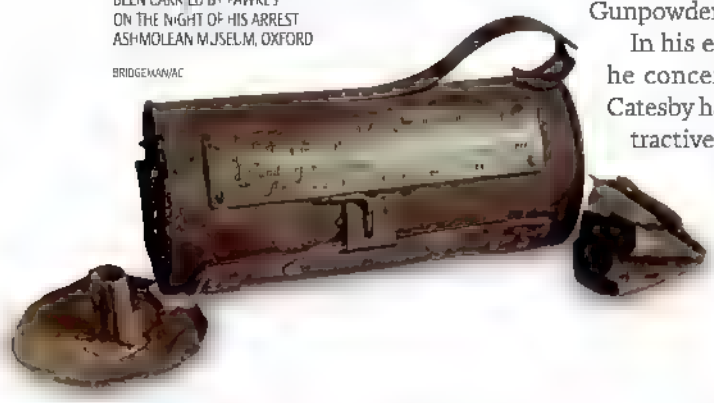
Catesby and Company

These developments helped quiet the minds of some of England's Catholic dissidents. English Catholicism was characterized by gentry leadership, which often had both sufficient influence and money. Many were well-positioned enough to bear the disadvantages loaded upon them and became "church papists," conforming publicly to the 1559 religious settlement while privately practicing their religion.

Some Catholic dissidents, however, sought to overthrow Protestant rule in England. King James's adherence to the 1559 settlement and public continuance of intolerant policies inspired some to take a more active role to place a Catholic monarch on the throne. One such person was Robert Catesby, the son of a gentry Catholic family from the English midlands. Although less famous than Guy Fawkes today, it was, in fact, the charismatic and persuasive Catesby who organized what later became the Gunpowder Plot.

LANTERN BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN CARRIED BY FAWKES ON THE NIGHT OF HIS ARREST ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD

BRIDGEMAN/AC



In his early 30s when he conceived the plot, Catesby had a strong, attractive personality. A Victorian historian declared "he is said to have exercised a magical influence on all who mixed with him." He used his charisma to sell his belief that only extreme, spectacular violence would end the persecution suffered by English Catholics. The idea of using gunpowder had occurred to him in 1603, and Catesby began recruiting in early 1604. The plan? To blow up Parliament and King James I in the hopes that Catholic rule could be restored in the aftermath.

The plot's first members belonged to the disaffected Catholic gentry: thirtysomethings Thomas Winter and John Wright and the slightly older Thomas Percy. Winter traveled to Flanders, which was under Spanish rule, to seek out Spanish assistance, but Spain was not interested.

Luckily Winter found someone who was: Guy Fawkes, a former schoolmate of Wright. Going by the first name Guido at that time, the English Fawkes was fighting for the Spanish in Flanders. Born a Protestant in York in 1570, Fawkes later converted to Catholicism. Intelligent, tough, and cool-headed, his qualities were noted by English Catholics. Winter learned of Fawkes's extensive

FIRE, FAITH, AND FURY

The sack of Antwerp in 1576, one of a series of rampages by underpaid Spanish troops that galvanized the Dutch Revolt against Spanish rule. The uprising raged throughout the childhood of Fawkes, who later fought for Spain against the Protestant Dutch. 1650 painting, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin

EXPLOSIVE FINDINGS

Scholars have wondered just what the impact of the Gunpowder Plot would have been if the plotters had been able to carry it out. In 2003 a study by the Centre for Explosion Studies at the University of Aberystwyth in Wales sought to find out. If Fawkes had been able to ignite the barrels of gunpowder, there would have been total destruction within a 40-yard radius, walls and roofs destroyed at 100 yards, and windows broken as far away as 900 yards. The Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey would have been completely destroyed, while structures in Whitehall, about a third of a mile away, would have been damaged as well.

"DISCOVERY OF GUNPOWDER PLOT AND THE TAKING OF GUY FAWKES," BY HENRY PERRONET BRIGGS, 1823. SUNDERLAND MUSEUM, U.K.

BRIDGEMAN ART

RACK AND RUIN

On the orders of James's spymaster, Robert Cecil (below), Fawkes was tortured on the rack in the Tower of London. Days later, Fawkes signed a confession (above) on which his signature—a few faint strokes—can be made out within the white rectangle.
U.K. National Archives
BRIDGEMAN/AC

ROBERT CECIL, FIRST EARL OF SALISBURY AND JAMES'S CHIEF MINISTER AND SPYMASTER. 17TH-CENTURY PORTRAIT BY JOHN DE CRITZ THE ELDER
HATFIELD HOUSE/BRIDGEMAN/AC

expertise in explosives and convinced him to join the plot. In May 1604, at the Duck and Drake Inn in London, the five men met and swore an oath of loyalty and, most important of all, secrecy.

Catesby's explosive attack on the English crown took shape in the months that followed. Percy began living in a house close to Parliament while Fawkes, by then adopting his pseudonym John Johnson, posed as his servant. The plotters began acquiring gunpowder. The conspiracy later grew to include new members who provided funds and further resources. They were Robert Keyes, Robert Winter (brother of Thomas), John Grant, Christopher Wright (brother of John), and the servant Thomas Bates.

In March 1605 Percy rented a basement storeroom at the Palace of Westminster. The gunpowder was then transported directly there, where, under the expert supervision of Fawkes, it could do the most damage. Three wealthy, influential men—Ambrose Rookwood, Francis Tresham, and Sir Everard Digby—joined the conspiracy, bringing the total number to 13.

Several times they had planned to launch the attack when Parliament opened, but delays forced them to wait. Finally, in November 1605, it appeared that the plan would finally be set in motion. It is remarkable that, with a total of 13 plotters, the conspiracy stayed secret until Lord Monteagle received his letter. Scholars have long puzzled over the identity of the sender. One candidate is Monteagle's own brother-in-law, Francis Tresham, one of Catesby's co-conspirators, but no conclusive proof has been found. In any case, once Monteagle handed over the letter, the search was ordered, and Fawkes arrested and brought to the Tower of London in the early hours of November 5.

Execution and Aftermath

Fawkes was able to resist interrogation, until King James issued an order on November 6, 1605, authorizing the use of torture on Fawkes, who only then relented and confessed. By then, many of the conspirators had fled, but the king's forces moved swiftly to hunt them down. Catesby, Percy, and Christopher Wright were killed in a shoot-out in Staffordshire in northern

TRAITORS' FATE

A 1606 engraving depicting the execution of Guy Fawkes and three fellow p otters on January 31 in Westminster. The plotters are dragged on hurdles to the site, where the gris y nstruments of their end await them

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY/BRIDGEMAN/ACI

England with James I's soldiers. Catesby's death spared him from the grisly punishments meted out to traitors, but also denied historians his version of how the conspiracy unfolded—how the idea of blowing up Parliament came to him, as well as the way in which he recruited his team of conspirators. The rest were caught, taken back to London, and convicted of treason (except for Francis Tresham, who died in prison before the trial). All who were tried were sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Fawkes and the others were set for execution in January 1606—"these wretches," as James described them, "who thought to have blown up the whole world of this Island." Fawkes was able to escape his full sentence. On the day of execution, he jumped from the gallows, breaking his own neck in the fall. Nonetheless, his corpse was quartered and sent to "the four corners of the kingdom." The other men received the full measure of their sentences as a warning to other potential rebels.

King James's reaction was remarkably circumspect. He was anxious to avoid both a pogrom against his Catholic subjects and diplomatic tensions with Catholic states. His speech to Parliament and official sermons preached by leading churchmen stressed the heinousness of the plot—but also accepted that many English Catholics were still loyal subjects. The miraculous nature of the plot's discovery proved an important propaganda tool. Even before the executions of the plotters, Parliament passed the Thanksgiving Act of 1606 requiring every parish church in England to deliver a sermon on November 5 thanking God for deliverance from a Catholic plot.

Over time the day of thanksgiving morphed into Guy Fawkes Day (also called Bonfire Night) throughout the United Kingdom. Every November 5, fireworks (representing the gunpowder) and bonfires mark the occasion, with straw effigies of Fawkes—called "Guys"—being burned. Despite not being the leader of the conspiracy, Fawkes became the face of it, and was elevated to lasting fame.

JAMES SHARPE IS PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF EARLY MODERN HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF YORK, ENGLAND, AND AUTHOR OF *REMEMBER REMEMBER, THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER: GUY FAWKES AND THE GUNPOWDER PLOT* (PROFILE BOOKS, 2006).

Guy Fawkes: Then and Now

Following the foiling of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, Parliament decreed November 5 to be a day of thanksgiving. Bonfires, fireworks, and parades have marked Guy Fawkes Night for hundreds of years, and the burning of Guy Fawkes in effigy is another long-standing tradition. Children often made the effigies (called "Guys") and asked people for "a penny for the guy." Today's most famous Guy Fawkes celebration is held in Lewes in East Sussex, England, where participants create elaborate effigies of Fawkes as well as modern politicians. The meaning of Fawkes's image, however, has changed. Originally he was seen as a stand-in for the Catholic Church, but that association has weakened. New symbolism developed when Alan Moore and David Lloyd's graphic novel *V for Vendetta* turned Fawkes into an antihero for the modern age in the 1980s. The work stars a rebel who dons a Guy Fawkes mask to fight totalitarianism. After the comic became a movie in 2005, the mask was adopted by global protest movements such as Anonymous and Occupy, whose members wear the Fawkes masks to protect their identities in public.

An illustration in a Mother Goose rhymes book. The rhyme, still sung by British schoolchildren, is given a Victorian twist here.

1776

Engraving of Guy Fawkes Night at Windsor Castle. The crowd gathers near the bonfire, above which a rocket shoots into the night sky.

1890

1927

Villagers in Beckenham, Kent, prepare their 23-foot-high Guy for the November 5 festivities.

Getting ready for a safe celebration of Guy Fawkes night in Walton-le-Dale, Lancashire

A masked protester stands before the Houses of Parliament on November 5 as part of the Million Mask March, organized by Anonymous, in London, England.

1964 2012 2015

A torchlit procession forms part of the spectacular Guy Fawkes celebrations of Lewes, East Sussex. The town's seven "bonfire societies" spend much of the year preparing for November 5.

1776: BRITISH LIBRARY/BRIDGEMAN/ACI. 1898: ALAMY/ACI. 1927: FOX PHOTOS/GETTY IMAGES. 1964: SSPL/GETTY IMAGES. 2012: DAN KITWOOD/GETTY IMAGES. 2015: BEN PRUCHNIE/GETTY IMAGES

EXOTIC DAWN
Mata Hari in 1906, soon after the Dutchwoman reinvented herself as an exotic dancer. Inspired by dances she had seen in the Dutch East Indies, she took a stage name that means "eye of the day" in Malay. Right, the 19th-century sculpture of the dance god, Shiva, which Mata Hari used as a backdrop in her early performances.

PHOTO OF MATA HARI: HERITAGE/GETTY IMAGES
SHIVA STATUE: MUSÉE GUIMET/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

SEDUCTIONS, SECRETS, AND SPIES

The Killing of Mata Hari

Notorious for her dark beauty and sensual performances, Mata Hari flouted the norms of the early 20th century. Dancing nude, taking lovers, and flaunting her wealth may have proved fatal to the exotic dancer, who was executed as a spy in 1917.

PAT SHIPMAN

Even at the very beginning of her life, it was clear that Margaretha Zelle would become something extraordinary. From the early days of her childhood in northern Holland, she stood out: flamboyant, striking in appearance, bold, bright, and gifted in languages. One schoolmate compared her to an orchid among dandelions, contrasting her dark exotic looks with the fair skin and blond hair of most other Dutch children.

Born in 1876, she learned as a young girl that she could get what she wanted by pleasing men, starting with her doting father, Adam Zelle. Margaretha was her father's overwhelming favorite, and he showered her with extravagant gifts. In 1889, however, Margaretha's father abandoned the family and ran off with another woman. Her mother, Antje Zelle, died a couple years later, when Margaretha was a teen.

After her mother's death, Margaretha—thoroughly spoiled and precociously sexual at age 14—was sent away to learn to be a teacher. At 16 she was expelled for having an affair with the married headmaster of the school. From there, she then moved to The Hague, a city full of colonial officials who had returned from service in the Dutch East Indies (modern-day Indonesia).

At 18, bored, miserable, and desperate for some kind of adventure, she answered a newspaper advertisement posted by one such official, Capt. Rudolf MacLeod. He was looking to meet, and marry, "a girl of pleasant character." Marriage to such a man seemed the perfect path to a better life. Margaretha knew officers in the Indies lived in large houses with many servants. "I wanted to live like a butterfly in the sun," she said in a later interview. They were engaged six days after meeting, and married in July 1895.

Marriage of Misery

Life did not turn out as the young woman expected, for MacLeod had little money, great debts, and lots of extramarital affairs. On the ship to the Dutch East Indies in 1897, with their baby son Norman-John, Margaretha discovered her husband had given her syphilis, a disease rampant among Dutch colonial soldiers. There was no known cure at that time, though treatment with toxic mercury compounds was believed, erroneously, to be a cure. Back in the Dutch colony, MacLeod continued his wild ways while Margaretha attracted attention from other men for her beauty and flirtatious manner, which infuriated her husband. She had a second child in 1898, a daughter named Louise Jeanne, but the marriage remained deeply troubled.

In 1899 MacLeod was promoted to garrison commander in another part of the Dutch East Indies and left his wife and family behind to find a house there. Both children fell ill,

AMOROUS APPROACH

Prior to her doomed marriage to Captain MacLeod, Zelle—pictured in her early 20s (below)—wrote him: "Ah, how we will pay! Be amorous, my treasure, for I will be also, and be strong when I come [to you]."

DANCE WITH DANGER

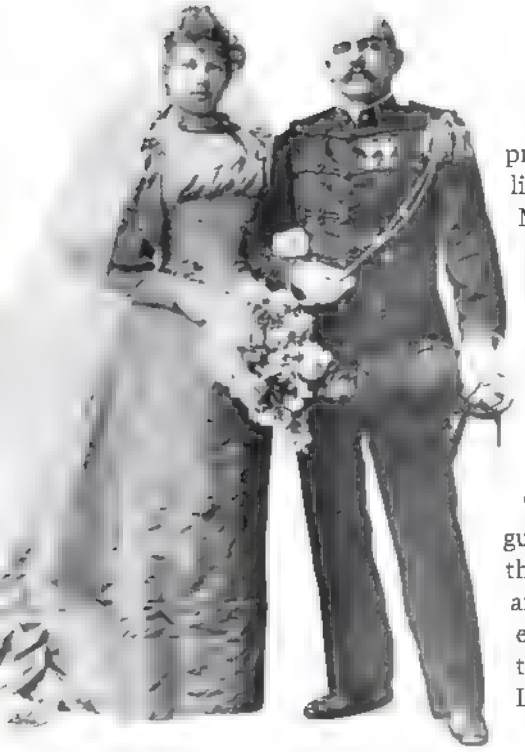
1876 Margaretha Zelle is born in Holland. At 18, she will marry a Dutch army officer, Rudolf MacLeod.

1905-06 After travel in the Far East, Zelle launches her career in Paris as Mata Hari and divorces MacLeod.

1915-16 World War I enemies France and Germany ask Mata Hari to spy for them. She agrees to work for France.

1917 Arrested in Paris in February, Mata Hari is accused of being a German spy, tried in July, and executed on October 15.

AKG/ALBUM



IN SICKNESS AND IN HEALTH
Wedding photo of Margaretha Zelle and Capt. Rudolf MacLeod in 1895. The 18-year-old future Mata Hari did not know that her older husband was a serial philanderer.

ROGER-VIOLLET/AURIMAGES

probably from congenital syphilis. When the family was reunited, MacLeod called the base doctor. Used to treating grown men, the doctor overdosed both children, who spewed up black vomit and writhed in agony. When their two-year-old son died, everyone on the base guessed why. This scandal led to MacLeod's demotion and posting to a small, remote station.

The couple did not bother to disguise their mutual hatred. In 1902 they returned to the Netherlands and separated. A divorce would ensue: Although Margaretha initially won custody of her daughter, Louise Jeanne would be raised by her father.

Paris Sunrise

A profound and fateful transformation took place in the young Dutchwoman. Colored by her travels and sorrows in the Indies, Margaretha Zelle reinvented herself as something startling and new: an exotic dancer called Mata Hari. In 1905 Mata Hari—a Malay term for "sunrise" or the "eye of the day"—broke onto the social scene with a performance in the Musée Guimet, an Asian art museum in Paris. Invitations were issued to 600 of the capital's wealthy elite. Mata Hari presented utterly novel dances in transparent, revealing costumes, a jeweled bra, and an extraordinary headpiece.

Under any other circumstances, she could have been arrested for indecency, but Margaretha Zelle had very carefully thought through her position. At each performance, she took the time to explain carefully that these were sacred temple dances from the Indies. Mata Hari was sensuous, beautiful, erotic, and emotional; she told tales of lust, jealousy, passion, and vengeance through her dancing, and the public lapped it up.

In an age when every rich and influential man wanted a beautiful mistress on his arm, Mata Hari was acknowledged as the most glamorous, fascinating, and desirable woman in Paris. She was seen with aristocrats, diplomats, financiers, top military officers, and wealthy businessmen, who kept her in furs, jewels, horses, silver, furniture, and chic accommodations simply for the pleasure of being in her company. For years, she danced in sold-out performances in nearly all the major European capitals.

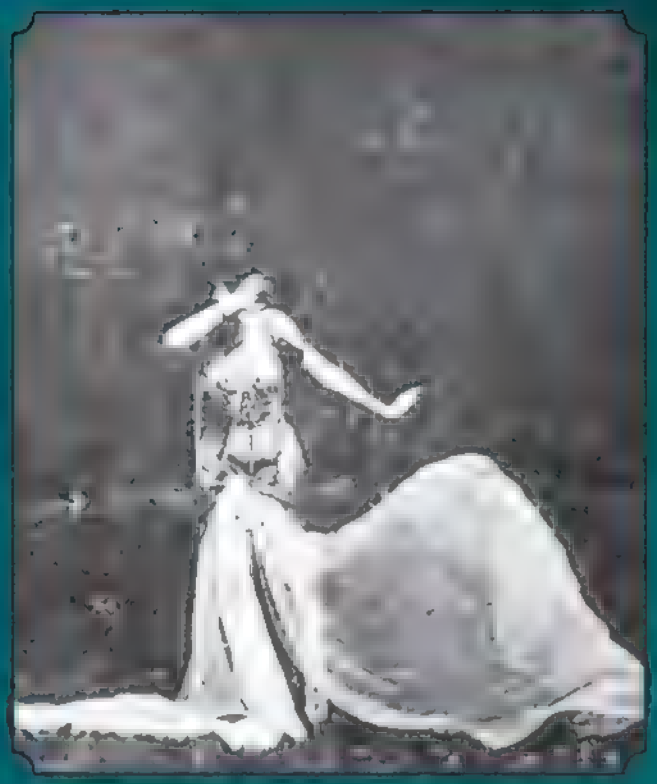
As Mata Hari aged and her dancing career began to wind down, she was still in demand as a courtesan and enjoyed the company of rich and powerful men. The outbreak of World War I in 1914 did not alter her extravagance. She seemed not to grasp that ordinary people resented her ostentatious lifestyle while French families were doing without basics: coal, clothing, and foodstuffs. They were sending their fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons to be killed in the war while she continued to live in comfort and plenty.

Dancing Double Agent

Mata Hari continued to travel, which brought her to the attention of the counterespionage world. The fall of 1915 found her in The Hague, where the exotic dancer was paid a visit by Karl Kroemer, the honorary German consul of Amsterdam. He offered her 20,000 francs—equivalent to $61,000 in today's currency—to spy for Germany. She accepted the funds, which she viewed as repayment for her furs, jewels, and money the Germans had seized when war broke out. Even so, she did not accept the job.

Returning by sea from the Netherlands to France in December that year, she and all of the passengers were questioned in Folkestone, a British port, by an intelligence officer. Nothing incriminating was found in a search of her person and luggage, but the officer noted: "[She] Speaks French, English, Italian, Dutch

COLORED BY HER TRAVELS AND SORROWS IN THE INDIES, MARGARETHA ZELLE REINVENTED HERSELF AS SOMETHING STARTLING AND NEW: AN EXOTIC DANCER CALLED MATA HARI.



A Butterfly Emerges

Before taking her stage name, Zelle adapted her married name to the grander Lady Gresha MacLeod. It was in this guise that she was pictured here, performing to a private audience near Paris in 1905. Distinguishing herself from more scandalous Parisian performers, she carefully choreographed her metamorphosis into Mata Hari. During one of her performances, she explained, in French, Dutch, English, German, and Malay: "My dance is a sacred poem . . . One must always translate the three stages that correspond to the divine attributes of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva—creation, fecundity, destruction."

PARIS IN A SPIN

Mata Hari at the Théâtre Marigny in a 1906 illustration. Revealing ample thigh and m·driff, the dancer evaded obscenity laws by claiming her routines were based on eastern temple dances.

SELVA/LEEMAGE/PRISMA ARCHIVO

and probably German. Handsome, bold type of woman. Well and fashionably dressed." His verdict on her? "Not above suspicion . . . most unsatisfactory . . . should be refused permission to return to the U.K."

Having returned to Paris, she lived at the Grand Hotel, which had been largely spared the ravages of war. She was so used to men's attentions that, for the first few days at least, she did not notice that she was being followed. Georges Ladoux, the head of the newly formed Deuxième Bureau (counterespionage unit) of the Ministry of War, had ordered his agents to shadow her as she made her way between restaurants, parks, tea shops, boutiques, and nightclubs. They opened her mail, eavesdropped on her phone conversations, and kept a log of who she met, yet they found no evidence of her gathering or passing important information to German agents.

In 1916 the war was going badly for the French. Two of the longest and bloodiest battles of the war—Verdun and the Somme—pitted the French against the Germans for months at a time. The mud, bad sanitation, disease, and the newly introduced horror of phosgene gas led to the death or maiming of hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Eventually, French troops became so demoralized that some refused to fight. Ladoux felt the arrest of a prominent spy could raise French spirits and recharge the war effort.

Oblivious to the role being prepared for her, Mata Hari was preoccupied with other matters: She had met and fallen deeply in love with a much decorated, young, Russian captain, Vladimir de Massloff, who was fighting for the French. Before long, Massloff had been exposed to phosgene gas, losing sight in one eye and in danger of going completely blind. Still, when he proposed marriage, Mata Hari accepted happily. She hoped to obtain a safe-conduct pass to take the waters at Vittel for her health, which would place her near where her beloved Massloff was stationed. Mata Hari sought advice from a lover, Jean Hallaure, who worked for the War Department and, unbeknownst to her, the spy chief Ladoux's Deuxième Bureau.

Hallaure sent her to 282 Boulevard Saint-Germain, which housed both the Military Bureau for Foreigners and the Deuxième Bureau. There, agents told her she could visit her lover if she agreed to spy for France. Mata Hari agreed, and her reward would be a million francs, enough to support Massloff after they married, in case his family disowned him. She did not want to have to deceive him with other men, she wrote.

Ladoux instructed Mata Hari to go back to The Hague via Spain and wait there for instructions. Tellingly, despite several meetings, Ladoux never asked Mata Hari for specific information, never targeted a specific man to seduce, and never provided a reliable means of communicating any secrets she learned to him, or funds. She finally wrote him a letter, sent by regular post, saying she must have an advance to refurbish her wardrobe if she was going to seduce important men.

Betrayed by France

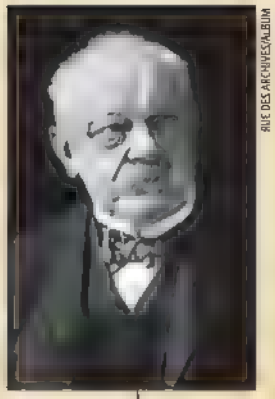
Mata Hari went to Spain, where she boarded the S.S. *Hollandia* bound for the Netherlands, as instructed by Ladoux. The passengers were stopped en route and Mata Hari found herself once again questioned at a British port. Her encounter in Folkestone the year before made officials even more suspicious of her. She was taken to London by agents for further interrogation, which was carried out in several languages.

As had happened on the previous occasion, nothing incriminating was found on her. But Mata Hari became terrified when they decided to hold her, as they tried to establish whether she was indeed Margaretha Zelle MacLeod or

EVENTUALLY, FRENCH TROOPS BECAME SO DEMORALIZED THAT SOME REFUSED TO FIGHT. LADOUX FELT THE ARREST OF A PROMINENT SPY COULD RAISE FRENCH SPIRITS AND RECHARGE THE WAR EFFORT.

PILLOW TALK
Left, Mata Hari with the half-blinded Vladimir de Massloff, the love of her life. Near right, German diplomat Arnold von Kalle, and, far right, French diplomat Jules Cambon, who both had affairs with the dancer

ULLSTEIN BILD/GETTY IMAGES



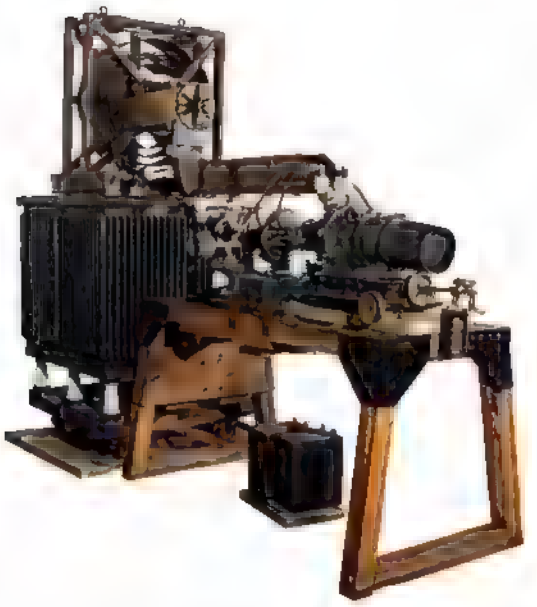
RUE DES ARCHIVES/ALBUM

Public Figures, Private Passions

Just weeks before her arrest, in a series of racy reports to her French handlers, Mata Hari described how she seduced Arnold von Kalle, a senior German diplomat, in Madrid: "Becoming more intimate, Kalle offered me cigarettes . . . I made myself very attractive. I played with my feet. I did that which a woman may do when she wishes to make a conquest of a man, and I knew von Kalle was mine." On July 24, 1917, unwashed and thin after so long in a cell, Mata Hari was led to her trial at the Palais de Justice alongside Paris's imposing medieval prison, the Conciergerie. There, her liaisons with senior French public figures were picked over in salacious detail in a bid to bolster the charge that she was a German spy. French diplomat Jules Cambon, however, denied she had ever asked him for sensitive information during their liaison. Adolphe Messimy, the former war minister with whom she had had a fling, denied ever meeting her. Cast as a woman who ruthlessly used her body to manipulate others, Mata Hari was, nevertheless, deeply in love with Vladimir Massloff, the young, half-blinded Russian soldier. In fact, she had only agreed to undertake spy work in the first place to earn money so as to settle down with him: "I will marry my lover," she wrote, "and I will be the happiest woman on earth."

ROBERT HUNT/MARY EVANS/AGE FOTOSTOCK

THE CONCIERGERIE, PARIS'S IMPOSING MEDIEVAL DUNGEON IN A 1900 IMAGE. MATA HARI WAS TAKEN FROM SAINT-LAZARE PRISON AND HELD HERE IN THE DAYS BEFORE HER TRIAL, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE NEARBY PALAIS DE JUSTICE.
ADOC-PHOTOS/ALBUM



BERLIN CALLING

This radio transmitter (above) was installed in the Eiffel Tower (opposite) in 1906, in an attempt to find a practical use for the monument. A decade later, the tower played a key role housing equipment intercepting German radio messages.

CNAM, PARIS/CHARMET/BRIDGEMAN/ACI

Clara Benedix, a German agent whom she vaguely resembled.

Desperate for release, Mata Hari confessed on November 16 to being an agent for France employed by Ladoux, whom the British authorities then contacted. Ladoux later reported that he answered: "Understand nothing. Send Mata Hari back to Spain." This was a flat-out betrayal of his own agent. The British files summarize his reply in the following words: "[That Ladoux had] suspected her for some time and pretended to employ her, in order if possible, to obtain definitive proof that she is working for the Germans. He would be happy to hear that her guilt has been clearly established."

In Madrid Mata Hari decided to find out what secrets of military importance she could learn there. A German diplomat posted to the Spanish capital, Maj. Arnold von Kalle, became enchanted by her beauty and grace. He soon let slip that there were plans for a landing of German officers, Turks, and munitions from a submarine on the coast of Morocco. Anxious to relay this information to Ladoux and claim her reward, she wrote Ladoux asking for further instructions. No reply ever came.

She also established relationships with Col. Joseph Denvignes from the French legation, who fell passionately in love with her. He grew enraged when she dined or danced with other men. To calm his jealousy, she naively explained that she worked for Ladoux and recounted all the secrets she had learned. Denvignes asked her to obtain more information about the Moroccan plan from Kalle, but when she did, her questions made the German suspicious. Since Denvignes was shortly traveling to Paris, Mata Hari wrote a lengthy letter full of information and asked Denvignes to deliver it to Ladoux.

While Mata Hari was conquering the German diplomats in Madrid in December 1916, Ladoux ordered all radio messages between Madrid and Berlin to be intercepted and monitored, using a listening post located on the Eiffel Tower. He later claimed the messages clearly identified Mata Hari as a German spy.

When the exotic dancer returned to Paris, expecting a reward for the intelligence she had passed on, Ladoux refused to see her. She finally made contact, but he denied receiving any communication through Denvignes. When she went the Deuxième Bureau, she was told Denvignes was "unknown." Only later did it become apparent that there was something odd about the intercepted radio messages from the Eiffel Tower. The French file numbers indicate that the messages naming Mata Hari as a spy were brought to the prosecutor's attention by Ladoux in April that year, not December and January, when Ladoux claimed they were sent. Seemingly, Ladoux was the only person to have seen the original messages prior to their decoding and translation. It also transpired that the original messages had disappeared from the files.

Even so, the content of these messages were about to be used with devastating effect against the dancer. Later, Ladoux would himself be arrested on espionage charges—but his detention came several days too late to save Mata Hari.

The Trap Closes

By late January 1917 Mata Hari was becoming frantic. Not only had Ladoux shunned her, he also had not paid her. She had not heard from Massloff in some time and was worried that he had again been wounded. She was running out of money and moved to increasingly cheaper hotels in the French capital.

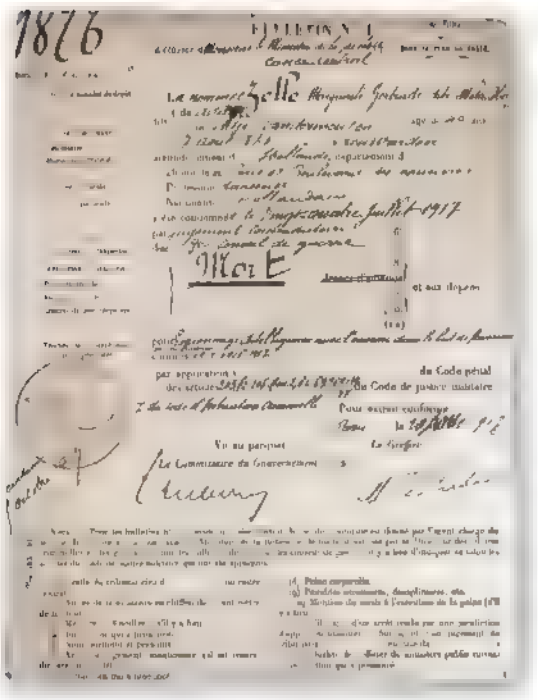
On February 12, 1917, a warrant for Mata Hari's arrest was issued on the grounds that she was a German spy. The next morning, she was arrested, her room searched, and her possessions

HER INTERROGATOR WAS A HARD MAN, NOT KNOWN TO SHOW MERCY TO SUSPECTED CRIMINALS, AND WHO WAS ESPECIALLY DISAPPROVING OF "IMMORAL" WOMEN.

GAVIN HELLIER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

The Spymaster

Head of the Deuxième Bureau, France's espionage unit during World War I, **Georges Ladoux** recruited Mata Hari to spy for the French. German messages later naming Mata Hari as a German spy, which were intercepted from the listening post atop the Eiffel Tower, have since been found to have been doctored by Ladoux. Four days after Mata Hari's execution, Ladoux was himself arrested on suspicion of being a double agent.



ORDER OF EXECUTION
At the end of her hasty trial by a military court in July 1917, the death sentence was read to Mata Hari. The dancer would have to endure the anguish of a nearly three-month wait before her execution.
PAUL FEARN/ALAMY/ACI

seized. Her interrogator was Pierre Bouchardon, the investigative magistrate of the Third Council of War—a hard man, not known to show mercy to suspected criminals, and who was especially disapproving of "immoral" women. His diary reveals his immense hatred for "man-eaters" like Mata Hari.

He placed her in isolation in the most horrific prison in Paris, Saint-Lazare. She slept in flea- and rat-infested cells and had no soap for washing. She was denied access to her possessions, medical treatment, clean clothing, lingerie, and money for food and stamps for letters. She had infrequent contact with her lawyer, a former lover named Edouard Clunet, who was pitifully naive about military trials.

As the days lengthened into months, Mata Hari began to realize that she was in real danger of prosecution. After three months, she fell into a state of extreme anxiety and begged by letter for mercy. She pleaded hysterically to see her solicitor Clunet and especially to see Massloff. Even Massloff's letters asking her to come visit him in hospital were withheld from her.

Remanded for trial on eight charges, the next phase of Mata Hari's ordeal began on July 24, 1917. Ladoux's telegrams and radio messages—now considered to have been doctored—were the only real evidence against her. The seven men who served as jurors were all military men; one, in a memoir, repeated a rumor that Mata Hari had "caused to be killed about 50,000 of our children, not counting those who found themselves on board vessels torpedoed in the Mediterranean upon the information given by [Mata Hari] no doubt." No evidence brought up at the trial supported these slanders.

Each of the charges against her was vague, mentioning no specific secrets passed to the enemy. Of Mata Hari's "immoral" lifestyle, however, abundant evidence was presented: One of the policemen who had tailed her through Paris revealed her extravagant spending, as well as her lovers of considerable influence and of diverse nationalities. Even though none of the items in her room indicated espionage, testimony about her personal effects was given at trial. Ladoux testified about the (false) intercepted messages, which showed she was a German agent but not that she had passed any information.

Clunet's defense was completely ineffectual. He produced some eminent men who testified that Mata Hari was a charming lady who never asked about military matters. Henri de Marguerie, secretary to the French foreign affairs minister and a lover of Mata Hari's since 1905, defended her fiercely. "Nothing had ever spoiled my good opinion of this lady," he said. He even accused the prosecutor of accepting a case he knew was false. Indeed, the prosecutor later confessed there was not enough evidence "to flog a cat in the case."

Death Becomes Her

Convicted on all eight counts against her, Mata Hari was sentenced to be executed by a firing squad. Attempts to commute the sentence to a prison term were denied, as were appeals for a presidential pardon. Her execution was carried out in great secrecy early on the morning of October 15, 1917.

Those present at her death included her lawyer, Clunet, the nuns who had looked after her, the prison doctor, and a ridiculously young squad of the Fourth Regiment of Zouaves in khaki uniforms with red fezzes, supervised by the sergeant major of the 23rd Dragoons. She gave a brilliant performance, perhaps her greatest, moving with grace and dignity and refusing to be tied to the stake but standing proud and tall. The sergeant major supervising the squad remarked at the time, "By God! This lady knows how to die."

About the author...

PAT SHIPMAN is a writer and adjunct professor of anthropology at Pennsylvania State University who has written widely on both science and history. Shipman's books on science include *The Man Who Found the Missing Link*. Her 2007 book, *Femme Fatale, Love, Lies, and the Unknown Life of Mata Hari*, is published by William Morrow.

THE WOMEN'S PRISON OF SAINT-LAZARE, PARIS, WHERE MATA HARI WAS HELD BEFORE AND AFTER HER TRIAL. FOLLOWING THE TRIAL, SHE SPENT HER LAST MONTHS—AND HER 41ST BIRTHDAY—IN CELL 12 HERE, WAITING FOR HER SENTENCE TO BE CARRIED OUT.

ADOC-PHOTOS/ALB

The Last Performance of Mata Hari

Taken soon after her arrest in 1917, Mata Hari's mugshot reveals weariness, but imprisonment would not break her. On the day of her execution, the dancer prepared for death with the flair with which she had lived. She dressed carefully and elegantly pinned up her hair. Witnesses said she stood tall before the firing squad and even blew a kiss to the attending priest in a brazen final act.

POLICE MUGSHOT OF MATA HARI TAKEN SOON AFTER HER ARREST ON FEBRUARY 13, 1917

DEA/GETTY IMAGES

MATA HARI
Silver-Screen Spy

Her story had it all: sex, intrigue, betrayal, and death. Little wonder that the role of Mata Hari fell to two of the great beauties of 20th-century cinema: Greta Garbo in 1931 and Jeanne Moreau in 1964. In both films, the screenplay is only loosely based on history, and Mata Hari is working as a German spy but is undone by love. Garbo falls for a blinded Russian officer Rosanoff, who resembles the real-life Vladimir de Massloff. In Moreau's incarnation as the dancer, Mata Hari falls in love with the French officer she is targeting. The big screen Mata Hari would prove as titillating as the woman herself. Garbo's performance of an exotic strip tease before a statue of the god Shiva proved too sensational, and portions were eventually censored from the 1939 re-release of the film.

DONALDSON COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

MICHAEL DORS/GETTY IMAGES

POPPERFOTO/GETTY IMAGES

BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES

ABOVE, STILLS AND PUBLICITY FROM THE 1931 MOVIE *MATA HARI*, DIRECTED BY GEORGE FITZMAURICE AND STARRING GRETA GARBO (LEFT) IN THE TITLE ROLE. THE TOP IMAGE SHOWS A STILL IMAGE FROM THE CONTROVERSIAL DANCE SCENE, CENSORED IN LATER RELEASES.

LEFT, THE 1964 FRENCH-ITALIAN MOVIE *MATA HARI, AGENT H.21* PRESENTED THE DANCER IN A MORE ACTIVE ROLE AS PLAYED BY FRENCH ACTRESS JEANNE MOREAU (BELOW).

The Ishtar Gate: Reassembling the Past

In 1902 German archaeologists discovered an overlooked wonder of the ancient world: Babylon's magnificent Ishtar Gate. The beautiful blue portal was built by a king and buried by time, until it was painstakingly put back together in a stunning restoration on display in Berlin today.

Babylon was a city known for its notable architecture. The Tower of Babel and the wondrous Hanging Gardens were both associated with the city and referenced in many historic and sacred texts. The siren calls of these famous monuments drew Robert Koldewey and Walter Andrae, two German Oriental Society archaeologists, to Babylon in March 1899. At the site (in what is today central Iraq), they aimed to uncover the splendid city built by Nebuchadrezzar II of the sixth century B.C.

The Babylon that they unearthed was richly endowed with spectacular art and architecture. They did not find the Hanging Gardens, but among the marvels they did discover was the glorious Ishtar Gate, constructed

RBA

of vibrant glazed bricks and adorned with depictions of fantastic beasts.

First Impressions

The principal entrance to the city, the Ishtar Gate was a double gateway designed to make a big impression. It was built over earlier structures erected during the reign of Nebuchadrezzar II's father, King Nabopolassar (r. 626-605 B.C.). As the main entrance to the city, its function was to awe visitors with the power and grandeur of Nebuchadrezzar's restored city. The Babylonian king installed a plaque on the gate explaining his actions and the importance of the gate: "I placed wild bulls and ferocious dragons in the gateways and thus adorned them with luxurious splendor so that people might gaze on them in wonder."

The gate's imposing effect was achieved not only by size but by color and craftsmanship: Its enameled tiles bore reliefs of animals: lions, dragons, and bulls, arranged in tiers. Ishtar, the Babylonian goddess of love, fertility, and war, is just one of the deities associated with the gate, specifically with the lion. But the naming of the gate for her has since stuck.

Discovering the Gate

Before the excavation officially began in 1899, Koldewey had spotted some intriguing clues during his initial visits. "During my first stay in Babylon, in June 1887, and again on my

IVY CLOSE IMAGES/AGE FOTOSTOCK

JOSÉ FUSTER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

1899
Robert Koldewey starts a German-funded dig at Babylon, a ded by Walter Andrae

1902-04
The Ishtar Gate is d scovered. The anc ent layout of the city's defenses is estabi shed.

1914
World War I forces Koldewey and Andrae to abandon Babylon along with many of the gate's t le fragments

1928-1930
Having recovered the fragments, Andrae eads the reconstruction of the shtar Gate in Berl n

A DRAGON FORMS PART OF THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BABYLON'S ISHTAR GATE, MADE IN 1928-1930 UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF WALTER ANDRAE. PERGAMON MUSEUM, BERLIN

GATE OF WONDER
The reconstructed Ishtar Gate, displayed at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, incorporates fragments from the gateway unearthed in Babylon in the early 1900s. To the left of the gate sits the reconstructed facade of King Nebuchadrezzar II's throne room.

second visit, in December 1897, I saw a number of fragments of enameled brick reliefs, of which I took several with me to Berlin." These mysterious pieces turned out to be the first pieces of the gate that would lead the archaeologists to uncovering the fuller structure between 1902 and 1904.

Their excavations continued almost uninterrupted for 15 years until the First World War stopped the dig in 1914. During this time, Koldewey and his team made huge discoveries. As well as the Ishtar Gate, they unearthed remains of the city's great Processional Way, temples including the Esagila (dedicated to Marduk), the palace of King Nebuchadrezzar, and a ziggurat that some identify as the legendary Tower of Babel.

(Continued on page 94)

A DIVINE TRIUMPH

WHEN KOLDEWEY (below) unearthed Babylon's Processional Way, which crossed the city from the Ishtar Gate, he imagined what the great New Year's procession in the time of Nebuchadrezzar II might have been like. Having once seen a Catholic festival in Syracuse, Sicily, he recalled how the figure of the Madonna had been borne "high above the assembled crowds, with inspiring music and fervent prayers [and] after the same fashion, I picture to myself the god Marduk, borne from his temple [the Esagila] through the enclosed courtyard to proceed in triumph along the Processional Way."

BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE

DIGGING IN THE DIRT

ONCE HE HAD FOUND the Ishtar Gate, Robert Koldewey faced an even greater challenge: to dig it out. In order to remove the dirt covering it, Koldewey hired more than 200 workers from the local area to remove the soil, bucket by bucket, without damaging the structure or any other artifacts around it. The waste soil, sand, and rubble were hauled away by a conveyor-belt system of wagons. Once the gate's gradual emergence from the ground was complete, the painstaking process of putting the puzzle together could begin.

JINDERWOOD ARCHIVES/AGE FOTOSTOCK

THE ISHTAR GATE in a 1932 image, whose perspective gives some idea of the colossal volume of soil and sand that had to be extracted.

WORLD HISTORY ARCHIVE/AGE FOTOSTOCK

RELIEF OF A BULL, symbol of Adad, god of storms, on the Ishtar Gate (undated image)

BPK SCALA, FLORENCE

THOUSANDS of enamel ed fragments from the Ishtar Gate are spread out on work benches at Berlin's Museum of the Ancient Near East in the 1920s.

THIS 1902 IMAGE SHOWS [illegible] TRACKS USED TO MOV[illegible] EXCAVATED RUBBLE. TO THE RIGHT, AN EXPOSED PORTION OF THE ISHTAR GATE PEEKS FROM THE GROUND.

Special Holiday Offer

PURCHASE

10 TOP SIRLOIN

STEAKS FOR $49.99 AND RECEIVE

HOLIDAY OFFER $49.99* REG $69.95

10 FREE STEAKBURGERS & FREE SHIPPING*

10 (5 oz) Top Sirloin Steaks (#V226) Now $49.99

ORDER BY NOON (CT) DEC 20TH

FOR CHRISTMAS DELIVERY

KansasCitySteaks.com

SEARCH PRIORITY CODE: M711NG

OR CALL 800 793 9144

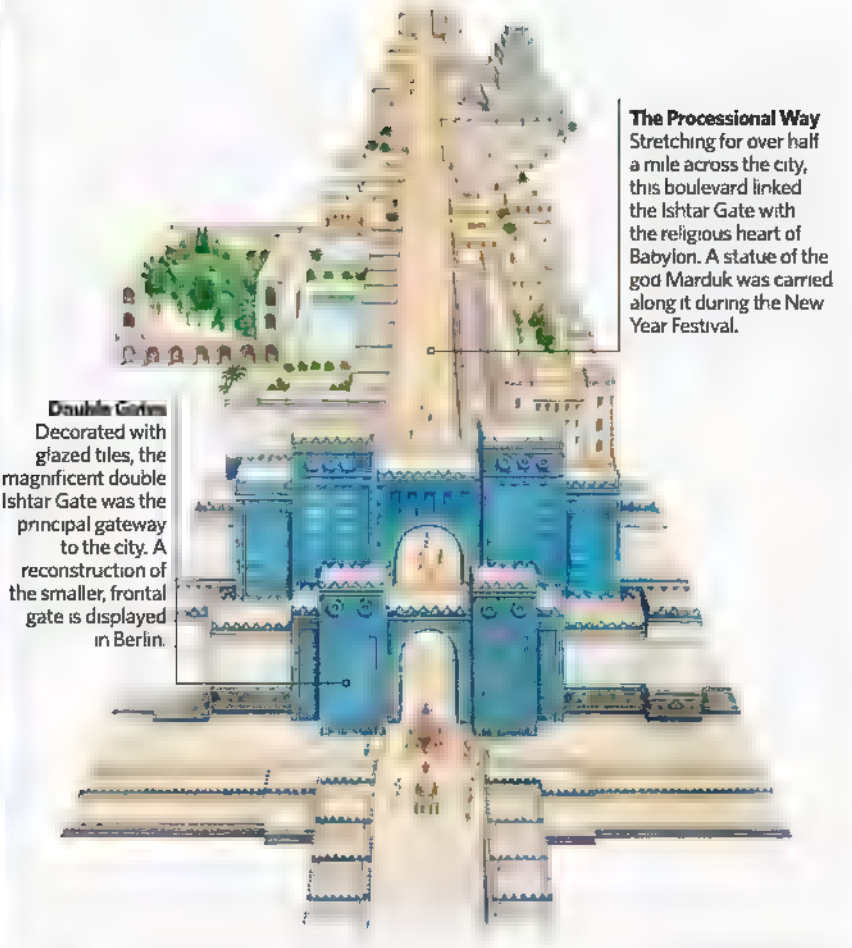
Offer expires 12/31/2017. *Free Shipping applies to standard delivery only. Limit of 5 shipments per customer. Steaks and 10 (4 oz) Steakburgers ship in the same cooler to the same address. Additional shipping charges apply for Alaska and Hawaii. Not valid with other offers.

ESTABLISHED 1932 THE Kansas City STEAK COMPANY

Long Live the King!

THE RECONSTRUCTED facade of Nebuchadrezzar's throne room (below) is also exhibited at the Pergamon Museum. It is decorated with palm trees, a symbol of fertility and long life.

JÜRGEN LIEPE/STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN



The Processional Way
Stretching for over half a mile across the city, this boulevard linked the Ishtar Gate with the religious heart of Babylon. A statue of the god Marduk was carried along it during the New Year Festival.

Double Gates
Decorated with glazed tiles, the magnificent double Ishtar Gate was the principal gateway to the city. A reconstruction of the smaller, frontal gate is displayed in Berlin.

DORLING KINDERSLEY/GETTY IMAGES

Discovery of the structure itself was only the beginning. It then took until 1914 to reveal how it connected to the Processional Way of Marduk and the city's complex defensive system of walls and gateways of which it formed a part.

The archaeologists collected tens of thousands of fragments from the gate, enough to fill 900 boxes. But then disaster struck. In 1914, as World War I caused havoc in Europe and the Middle East, the German team—carrying out its work in the name of Kaiser Wilhelm II—was forced to evacuate and abandon its finds. During the upheaval, the boxes of fragments were transported out of Babylon to the University of Porto in Portugal.

By 1926, after Koldewey's death in 1925, Andrae managed to persuade the university to send the boxes to Berlin. Appointed director of the Museum of the Ancient Near East (a section of the Pergamon Museum), Andrae took the bold decision to reconstruct the outer part of the magnificent Ishtar Gate in its entirety. The ambitious project began in 1928.

Putting It Together

Sorting and piecing together the myriad fragments was the team's most daunting challenge. After cleaning them, the fragments were classified according to color and whether they formed part of an animal. Then began the enormous challenge of trying to solve the puzzle.

"We always had six or seven fragments of each face in relief on a tile," wrote Andrae, "and the person reconstructing had to look for two flat fragments that would fit with them from among hundreds of possibilities." The aim was to restore the animal figures on the basis of the best preserved brick fragments. Only when a specific piece of tile was missing would it be substituted with a modern replica.

In two years Andrae's team managed to complete 30 lions, 26 bulls, and 17 dragons, and parts of various palace facades. The partial reconstructions of the Processional Way and the Ishtar Gate were inaugurated in 1930 at the Pergamon Museum. The museum is only able to display the front part of the gate (the second, larger gate is in storage).

Visitors can still see them today and share in the experience of what it might have been like to approach the imposing entrance to Nebuchadrezzar's Babylon 2,600 years ago.

—Felip Masó

The Long Paw of the Law

Makes A Great Gift!

FREE PREVIEW!

Enjoy tails of the old west with this purrfect, handcrafted cowboy kitty!

Shown larger than approximate size of 4.25" high

A Gift For Every Wish!
Fastest way to order:
HamiltonCollection.com/Sheriff

LIKE US ON

When it comes to frontier justice, "Sheriff S. Purrs" doesn't pussyfoot around. With spurs on his boots, a badge on his chest, and a real rope lariat by his side, he's sure to lasso your heart!

Handcrafted figurine from Hamilton!

Now, say "howdy" to this top cat for yourself! Entirely crafted and painted by hand, it's the extra accents that'll keep this kitty furrever in your heart. From his big green eyes to the handcrafted tufts of "fur on his tail … from his bolo tie to his vest and hat …not a single detail is missed. He's even sporting a little extra "fur" with his twisted moustache!

FREE PREVIEW and money-back guarantee!

Limited to only 95 casting days, "Sheriff S. Purrs" is hand-numbered and includes a Certificate of Authenticity. Mail your Reservation Application now for a FREE PREVIEW and put him on patrol in your home. Our *365-Day Guarantee* assures your satisfaction for one year or your money back!

©2017 HC. All Rights Reserved.

09-06044-001-ED1G

MAIL TO:

The Hamilton Collection
9204 Center For The Arts Drive, Niles, Illinois 60714-1300

SEND NO MONEY NOW!

❑**YES!** Please accept my order for **"Sheriff S. Purrs"** for just $29.99*. **I need send no money now.** I will be billed with shipment.

Name_____
(Please print clearly.)

Address_____

City_____ State____ Zip_____

Email (Optional)_____

Signature_____

MAIL TODAY! **09-06044-001-E94001**

*Add $8.99 for shipping and service; see HamiltonCollection.com. Deliveries to FL and IL will be billed appropriate sales tax. For information on sales tax you may owe to your state, go to HamiltonCollection.com/use-tax. *All orders are subject to product availability and credit approval.* Allow 6 to 8 weeks for shipment.

Next Issue

THE BRITISH CAVALRY CHARGES THE FRENCH FORCES DURING THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO IN THIS 1816 ETCHING.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

NAPOLEON'S LAST STAND: WATERLOO

THE DRAMATIC CLIMAX of the Napoleonic Wars, the Battle of Waterloo pitted military giant Napoleon Bonaparte against his nemesis, the brilliant Duke of Wellington. Napoleon's escape from exile in March 1815 united Europe against him. Their forces clashed in the following months, leading to the final confrontation on a battlefield near Waterloo in present-day Belgium. On June 18, 1815, Wellington and Napoleon traded blows in a bloody face-off that would usher in an era of peace and take down Napoleon's one last grasp for empire.

DOME ALONE: ROME'S PANTHEON

FIRST BUILT in 27 B.C., the Pantheon was commissioned by Marcus Agrippa. After being destroyed by fire in A.D. 80, the new Pantheon was designed as a building worthy of Rome's greatness. Rebuilt by Emperor Hadrian between 118 and 128, the renovated structure did not disappoint: Its soaring, concrete dome, 142 feet in diameter, was the largest ever built until the 20th century, but exactly how the Romans engineered this feat remains a mystery.

SOL 90/ALBUM

Animals for the Afterlife

The mummy makers of ancient Egypt were as busy with animals as they were humans. Some, such as bulls, were mummified as offerings to the gods; others, such as poultry, to provide the dead with provisions. Many were beloved pets, such as cats, preserved to pounce for all eternity.

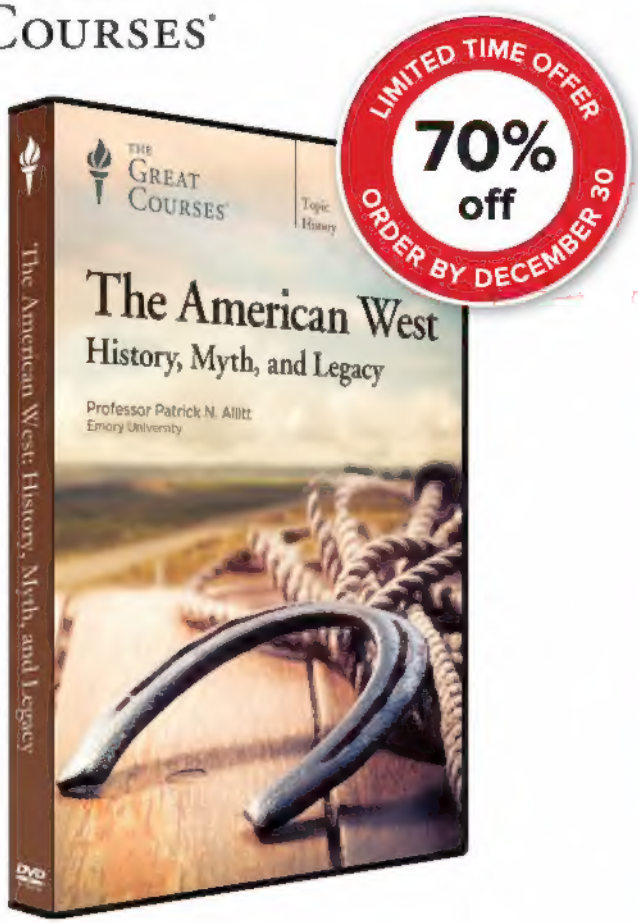
To Hades and Back

Odysseus did it. Hercules did it, too. In Greek mythology, many heroes traveled to and from the underworld to visit the dead and seek out knowledge. This classic quest, known as the katabasis, shows up in many myths and inspired authors in later works, from Virgil's *Aeneid* to Dante's *Inferno*.

Life Along the Silk Road

When China's rulers began trading silk for horses in the first century B.C., a complex network of trade routes, dubbed the Silk Road, rose up, connecting Asia to the Roman world. Along with textiles, food, and spices, people were exchanging new technologies and burgeoning religions, making the region a cultural melting pot.

THE GREAT COURSES®



Experience the Grit and Glory of the Early American West

Our understanding of the American West has moved far beyond pop culture in recent years. The legendary people and events we associate with the Wild West—the last stand at the Alamo, the Battle of Little Bighorn, the exploits of Calamity Jane, the hardships of the Oregon Trail—are even more fascinating once the historical realities have been separated from the myths.

Designed to shine a light on the American frontier, **The American West: History, Myth, and Legacy** is a way to experience the grit and grandeur of an epic period in U.S. history. Award-winning Professor Patrick N. Allitt's 24 lectures uncover new historical angles on events ranging from the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Indian Removal Act to the creation of America's first national parks. Packed with period maps, artwork, photographs, and diary entries, plus extraordinary storytelling, this course is an entertaining, balanced look at the achievements and hardships of a period that's as important as it is wild.

Offer expires 12/30/17

THEGREATCOURSES.COM/9NGH

1-800-832-2412

The American West: History, Myth, and Legacy

Taught by Professor Patrick N. Allitt
EMORY UNIVERSITY

LECTURE TITLES

1. Westward the Course of Empire
2. The West in the Colonial Era
3. Venturing beyond the Appalachians
4. Discoveries of Lewis and Clark
5. The Fur Trade and the Mountain Men
6. Trail of Tears
7. Struggles of the Plains Indians
8. Rebellious Texas and the Alamo
9. Traveling the Oregon Trail
10. Manifest Destiny and the Mexican War
11. The California Gold Rush
12. Bleeding Kansas and Civil War in the West
13. Building the Transcontinental Railroads
14. Cowboys and Cattle Drives
15. Homesteaders on the Plains
16. Little Bighorn and Wounded Knee
17. Life in Western Towns and Cities
18. John Wesley Powell and the Desert Southwest
19. Women in the Wild West
20. From Territories to Western States
21. Western Violence, Law, and Order
22. Protecting Yellowstone and Yosemite
23. Mythology of the American West
24. Winning the West?

The American West: History, Myth, and Legacy
Course no. 8552 | 24 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

SAVE UP TO $190

DVD	~~$269.95~~	**NOW $79.95**
Video Download	~~$224.95~~	**NOW $59.95**
CD	~~$199.95~~	**NOW $59.95**
Audio Download	~~$149.95~~	**NOW $34.95**

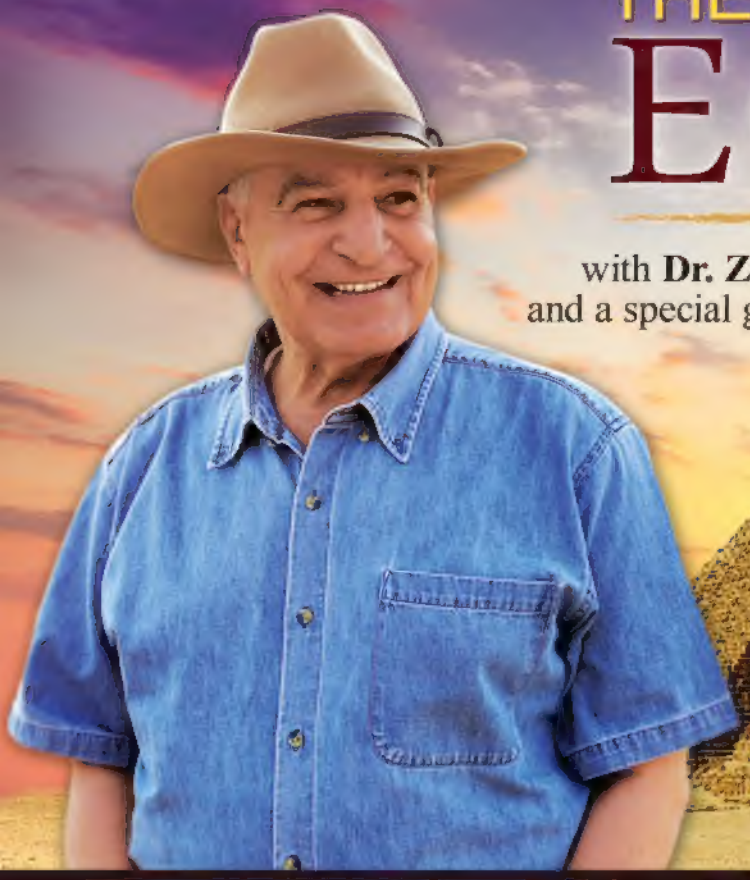
+$10 Shipping & Processing (DVD & CD only)
and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

Priority Code: 151469

For over 25 years, The Great Courses has brought the world's foremost educators to millions who want to go deeper into the subjects that matter most. No exams. No homework. Just a world of knowledge available anytime, anywhere. Download or stream to your laptop or PC, or use our free apps for iPad, iPhone, Android, Kindle Fire, or Roku. Over 600 courses available at www.TheGreatCourses.com.

THE ROYAL TOUR TO EGYPT

with **Dr. Zahi Hawass**, the legendary archaeologist
and a special guest **Mrs. Jehan Sadat**, Egypt's First Lady



TOUR DATES

March 4-17, 2018	September 16-29, 2018	November 1-14, 2018
April 1-14, 2018	October 1-14, 2018	November 17-30, 2018
April 15-28, 2018	October 15-28, 2018	December 2-15, 2018

Introducing the most exciting tour to Egypt ever offered. Visit the Land of the Pharaohs with the most famous archaeologist in the world – **Dr. Zahi Hawass**. Meet the former First Lady of Egypt – **Mrs. Jehan Sadat** in the residence of Egypt's president and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Anwar El-Sadat.

The Royal Tour offers private entrances to the entire Giza Plateau and the Luxor temple outside of opening hours. Only with us will you get exclusive access between the paws of the Great Sphinx, a place closed to the public! Thanks to special permission from the Minister of Antiquities, you will see the Tombs of the Pyramid Builders in Giza, an active excavation site.

Explore the wonders of the ancient Egyptian civilization, including enormous Karnak and Abu Simbel temples, tombs in the Valley of the Kings and much more! You will stay in a 5-star hotel in the shadow of the pyramids and sail on a luxury Nile Cruise ship.

Dr. Zahi Hawass: *"No one can tour Egypt like this. Except for you - when you come and join me. You will be able to visit many unique sites that actually very few people can see."*

Mrs. Jehan Sadat: *"I would love to invite you to visit Egypt with Archaeological Paths. They are really the best to come with to visit my country. You will see a part of history that I'm very proud of."*

For more information visit:
www.archaeologicalpaths.com

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PATHS

contact@archaeologicalpaths.com
US phone: 917-719-1974